Understandings of Integration Amongst Highly Educated Indian Women Migrants Living in the UK

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Abstract

The concept of integration is a 'controversial and hotly debated' one (Castles et al. 2001: 12) with blurred boundaries and content. Policy documents and scholarly literature on integration are mainly concerned with social policy aspects of integration, ways integration may be achieved, barriers to integration, and identifying good practices. However, research rarely examines integration as understood by migrants themselves (cf. EAVES 2015). Yet, capturing migrants' voices is essential to obtain a balanced comprehension (Erdal 2013), especially as integration is frequently conceptualised as a 'two-way process' between migrants and host country / society. Numerous recent studies have explored understandings of integration of migrants as a wider group (cf. Cherti and McNeil 2012; Wessendorf 2011). However, adequate attention has not been given to the same with respect to migrant women (e.g. EAVES 2015), and more specifically highly educated migrant women (from more privileged backgrounds). Studying their approaches to integration is highly relevant, the more so as the highly educated are increasingly present amongst migrants, and women (in general) form the majority of the UK's migrant population (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017). Furthermore, with the main focus of government rhetoric on specific, problematised groups of migrants chiefly defined through their religion and ethnic affiliations, lower skill levels, and gender, non-problematised, highly educated migrant women remain barely visible. This research draws on empirical data gained through 30 open-ended semi-structured interviews conducted in early 2013 with highly educated Indian migrant women of higher social classes who live in the UK. A distinct set of understandings of integration emerged that can be equated with emotional responses and feelings in relation to life in the host country. Other, more concrete integration conceptions were also described, aligned along power lines and agency vectors of the two major players in the integration process, i.e. migrants and host country/society, and viewed, in particular, in relation to the idea that integration is a 'two-way process'. Finally, the formative role of certain pre-migration factors (including class position), that have possibly informed understandings of integration, was highlighted.

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Finally, I would like to thank my family for their enormous support which made it possible to complete my doctoral research. I dedicate this thesis to them as they are my world.

Declaration and Disclaimer

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of Middlesex University. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author.

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1 Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The United Kingdom (UK) has experienced remarkably high numbers of migrants into the country, particularly in the last 15 years, which phenomenon could mainly be ascribed to Europeans exercising their right of free movement (APPG Report 2016: 25). The sudden visibility of migrants, due largely to increased mediatisation of migration, has profoundly affected public perceptions about migration, immigrants, and their presence in host countries (Papademetriou and Benton 2016). As a major UK opinion poll reveals, in 2016 (the year Britain voted to leave the European Union) immigration had grown into the most important public issue for the sample surveyed, with 34% of responses putting it highest, compared to 31% rating the economy as most pressing (IPSOS Mori 2016). Thus migration, including the integration of migrants, has become and remains heavily politicised and exceptionally topical.

Integration, also referred to as incorporation, insertion, adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, settlement, denizenship, citizenship, inclusion (Ager and Strang 2004: 32-35), or embeddedness (Ryan and Mulholland 2015), of immigrants in the host society (Castles et al. 2001), is thought to go hand in hand with the process of immigration. Or does it? Is integration straightforward for all migrants? Is it a process or a state? What does the concept of integration mean for immigrants? Do better-educated immigrants integrate more easily? Is integration a gendered phenomenon? Do public policies help immigrants to integrate better? Whose role is it to devise the framework or conditions for successful integration? Do specific factors or circumstances affecting individual immigrants help the process of integration, or is integration preponderantly a structural phenomenon? Are there any pre-migration factors and circumstances that impact understandings and lived realities of integration? These are only some of the questions which researchers aim to answer, to gain a more nuanced apprehension of the social phenomenon of integration. The extent of controversy around possible answers indicates how much the concept is multifaceted and complex. Further, the concept is used by various social actors for different purposes and with different meanings; seemingly without the need to elucidate it, however. Policy papers and academic literature on integration chiefly revolve around social policy features and outcomes of integration; planned, successful or failed accomplishment of integration; and host country barriers to integration, with possible pinpointing of good practices. Research rarely examines

the concept of integration predominantly as an abstraction understood by immigrants (for example covered by EAVES Report on Settling-In 2015), but an abstraction that is socially construed and embedded in individual migrant realities.

Chapter 1 summarises the doctoral research work and establishes a research territory focusing on the slippery, complex concept of integration. In doing so, I attempt to evidence the relevance of studying the research area. In this section of the chapter, I also endeavour to provide interpretations of the main concepts used in the research. Following that, I indicate a gap in the subject-specific scholarly research corpus and argue why I believe this gap needs to be addressed, which may contribute to the already existing knowledge in the field. The chapter will also include a brief description of the theoretical framework of the research, methodology and anticipated methods for data collection, and analysis of the collected data.

1.2 Establishing the Research Territory

My research aspires to map understandings of integration in relation to highly educated Indian women migrants living in the UK. First, section 1.2.1 will provide a brief overview of the history of immigration to the UK of (highly) skilled / educated (as defined in the same section) women migrants, situated against the backdrop of increasingly politicised and constantly changing immigration policies. This part will particularly look at migrants from India. As the highly politicised and contested concept of integration forms the backbone of my research, studying its theoretical, policy and pragmatic implications is of particular relevance. Therefore, in the second part of this section (in 1.2.2), I will sketch a summary of theoretical and mainstream political discourses on the notion of integration in the UK. I will then position this work in the scholarly literature in the nexus of women's migration, and migration of the highly skilled and highly educated.

1.2.1 Immigration to the UK of (Highly) Skilled/Educated Women Migrants

In the age of globalisation, when telecommunication, easier transport opportunities and the expansion of goods and capital markets at an unprecedented rate link the many areas of the world ever more strongly together, more and more people move around the globe. Castles and Miller (2014) described this phenomenon as the 'age of migration'. Many of these people attempt to move to developed countries of the Global North, such as the UK. Although throughout its history, the UK has been a major destination country for migrants for a wide variety of reasons and from various sending countries, the last 50 years have seen

a surge in the number of immigrants. The nature, scope, and routes of immigration have changed considerably over time due to countless factors among which immigration policies play a major role.

(i) Concepts of Skill, Highly Skilled and Highly Educated

Before turning our attention to the issue of (highly) skilled migration to the UK, it is important to capture the meaning of the concepts of *skill*, *highly skilled* and *highly educated*. In particular, distinction should be made between these categories, as this thesis focuses on a group of understudied women, those of the highly educated.

(a) Skills

Skills are 'constructed and negotiated through ideological and political processes' (Arat-Koc 1999 cited in Man 2004: 138). The concept is highly contextualised, temporally and spatially, and as such gains its meaning within the underlying socio-economic and political environment. Therefore, there is no overarching definition of skill. Skills are closely linked to power, alongside societal distinctions such as class, gender, ethnicity, race, language, etc.; they create and recreate power differences (Raghuram 2000; Kofman 2014). Despite the fluidity of the notion, it is customary to distinguish between 'hard' skills such as academic qualifications and language knowledge, and 'soft' skills, for instance good communication and interpersonal skills. Grugulis and Vincent (2009) remind us that soft skills are spatially and temporally contingent, which limits their universal applicability (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Polanyi (1966) differentiated between codified and tacit skills or knowledge, whereby codified knowledge, as its name suggests, incorporates knowledge that is systemised in written work (e.g. academic knowledge), while tacit knowledge is acquired in more subtle ways, for instance, at the workplace (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). His influential theory was further developed, among others, by Williams (2006) who discerned four main types of knowledge. The first type is *embrained knowledge*, which is related to cognitive skills and abilities. As Kofman (2012) points out, this type of knowledge is the highest paid and is mainly linked to knowledge primarily required in male-dominated sectors. The second type of knowledge is *embodied knowledge*, a more experiential one, and thus traditionally linked to the female workforce. The third is *encultured* knowledge, which builds on exposure to common culture and includes for instance language knowledge, communication abilities and mostly what generally is referred to under soft skills. *Encoded knowledge* materialises in codes and symbols laid down in books, and related to highly regulated professions such as medicine and law, and thus the corresponding skills are not too mobile (Kofman and

Raghuram 2015). In practice, migrants possess a mixture of the different types of skills, knowledge and capital. However, such skills and capital need to be validated, i.e. transferred and applied in new social settings (e.g. Liversage 2009). Validation of skills in the labour market is the outcome of an intricate interplay of various structural and agency-linked factors. These are, just to mention a few, academic and language credentials, knowledge of regulative and practical requirements of the labour market, also of historical (post-colonial) connections between home and host countries, geopolitical considerations (e.g. Van Riemsdijk 2013), education gained in the home country, or 'global positionality', that is the contextually and spatially changing value of validated skills (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). As Kofman (2014) posits, validation of skills is highly gendered in both their basis and their outcome. Acquisition, transfer, and validation of skills of migrants in the host country thus imply a battle of structure and agency, where even though structures appear to be overwhelmingly more powerful, the agency of individual migrants should not be underestimated.

Skills are assessed in diverse social settings in the migration literature (Meyer 2001; Stark 2004). For immigration control purposes, the notion of skills comprises a much narrower scope of markers that changes frequently in accordance with government policies on immigration and entry requirements for migrants. It is argued that the mere decision on what skills might mean can reproduce social inequalities, as it defines who is wanted in a particular state and who is not (Anderson 2012), who is a 'useful' migrant and who is seen to be 'abusive' (Erel 2007). The specific skills migrants need to possess to get a job in the host country commensurate with their qualifications highly depend on structural factors, including requirements set by labour market actors, and the (lack of) accreditation system for foreign qualifications. The immigration rules of polities that specifically aim to attract skilled migrants (Boucher 2007) define skills in line with political priorities, often influenced by labour market demands. For instance, in the 1990s, at the time of the IT boom, migrants with the required level of IT knowledge and practice were increasingly sought after in many countries (e.g. Canada, Germany). Nevertheless, immigration and entry rules appear to be gender biased, as seen from the previous example of the male-dominated IT sector (Man 2004), and as they affect men and women differently, they create and maintain gender-based power inequalities (Kofman 2014). Also, certain skills mainly possessed by women are downgraded, whilst others that men might be in a better position to acquire are hailed. As Kofman (2014) observes, immigration policies reiterate power inequalities based not only on gender, but on other markers of difference such as class, race, nationality, age, etc.

It is important to distinguish between skilled migrants and skilled migration. A *skilled migrant,* i.e. a migrant possessing skills, can migrate to a destination country through various migration routes (labour, family, student, asylum seeker, etc.), where (s)he will or will not be able to use the skills acquired before migrating. The notion of *(highly)* s*killed migration*, on the other hand, is used as a proxy for a stream of migration comprising labour migrants arriving in the host country on work visas (if needed). Jungwirth (2011) proposes to call this latter form of migration 'highly qualified migration', to accentuate the wider nature of the term by incorporating highly skilled migrants who enter the host country by ways other than the labour route, and whose migration is not primarily dependent on the nexus of immigration regulations and labour market demands. Distinction between '*skilled*' and '*highly skilled*' nevertheless remains ambiguous.

(b) Highly Skilled

The notion of '(highly) skilled' (basically, a more qualified form of skilled) is frequently used in official discourses and academic research without a clear international definition and with varying, contextually and temporally informed meanings (McLaughlan and Salt 2002; Raghuram 2000; Salt 2002; Solimano and Pollack 2004). Some academics link this concept to level of educational achievement (Borjas 2003), others to certain types of occupation (Cornelius, Espenshade and Salehyan 2001), to academic qualifications paired with professional practice (Iredale 2001), or to 'those with some tertiary education and in possession of skills valued in the labour market' (Raghuram 2000: 430). Cancedda (2005) described highly-skilled migrants as those who 'are carriers of high standards of knowledge and skills, even if they are not immediately spendable' (Csedő 2008). Such definition is flexible but vague, although, as Cancedda added, such knowledge and skills were evidenced by a higher education degree. Csedő (2008) approaches the concept of skills from a different angle, not by mainly focusing on hard skills such as academic qualifications but rather viewing application of skills as the outcome of a process of complex negotiations between migrants and respective labour markets. This perspective accords great importance to migrants' agency, while acknowledging the formative power of structures. A pragmatic indicator of the value of migrants' skills on the labour market is the salary (Chaloff and Lemaitre 2009). Equating the value of skills with salary can be misleading and arbitrary, however, especially considering that salary is determined based on a negotiation process between individual migrant and labour market actor, and is not always directly linked to higher level policy or market considerations.

The arguably most widely employed definition of highly skilled is found in the OECD

Canberra Manual for the Measurement of Human Resources in Science and Technology (HRST). According to this definition, a person is considered highly skilled if (s)he

> has completed education at the third level in an S&T field of study; and/or not formally qualified but is employed in an S&T occupation where the above qualifications are normally required.

Although this definition has clearly been developed for the science and technology sector, it has inspired numerous policies and academic pieces of research. The wording of the definition allows discretion in terms of whether educational qualification, professional practice, or both should be required to conform with the description. National immigration policies often require highly skilled migrants to abide by the 'both' rule instead of the 'either, or' (McLaughlan and Salt 2002). This was the case, for instance, in the US, when to apply for an H-1B visa highly skilled migrants needed to demonstrate possession of at least a Bachelor's degree and professional practice in an occupation figuring on a given list (Lowell 2008).

(c) Highly Educated

The concept of *highly educated* is fairly straightforward, as it is generally defined by completed tertiary education, irrespective of the level of tertiary education (graduate or post-graduate). Despite growing interest over the last two decades in (highly) skilled women migrants as objects of research, there has not been much research on gendered migration of the highly educated (although see Cretu 2017; Dumitru 2017; Dumitru and Marfouk 2015). Highly educated women migrants are skilled migrants. This latter group is usually defined by its members' tertiary degrees beside other factors such as possession of economically useful skills highly rated on host country labour markets (Raghuram 2000: 430). It is imperative that distinction be made between skilled migrants and skilled migration, especially in relation to women (IOM-OECD 2014). For a long time, literature on skilled migration had predominantly centred around global mobilities of skilled personnel within certain skilled, often male-dominated sectors such as banking and finance, and IT (Kofman 2000) and routes of migration such as intra-company transfer (Kofman's contribution in IOM-OECD 2014). In doing so, it indirectly prioritised research concentrating on highly educated men migrants. Although literature on deskilling has increasingly studied the labour market incorporation of highly educated/skilled migrant women, its prime focus was on unskilled sectors of the labour market or occupations, or on the lack of work commensurate with the migrants' skills (Raghuram 2000). However, this strand of literature 'focuses on a narrow range of economic functions of migration' and thus 'gender differences in the

experience of 'political conditions', of social and cultural conditions and the possibility of attaining skills, are not considered' (Raghuram 2000: 432; see also Ferrant and Tuccio 2015 on the role played by gender-based discriminatory social institutions on female migration processes). Also, even though remarkable social and human capital are migrated by highly educated female migrants, these women remain underrepresented in the labour migration stream and overrepresented in other migration routes such as family migration and asylum (IOM-OECD 2014). Further, Dumitru (2017: 2) noted that studies invoking 'feminisation of skilled migration' had been nearly entirely absent from the research corpus (except e.g. Raghuram 2000; Meyer et al. 2016) as a stark contrast with bulging literature claiming 'feminisation of migration'. She warned that since this latter theorisation had been strongly associated with labour market incorporation into lower skilled occupations, the use of such approach could shift scholarly attention from the value of tertiary education, which could be seen as a 'real passport for women from developing countries' (Dumitru 2017: 1). In particular, as she argued, the rate of emigration from developing countries towards certain OECD countries was in aggregate at least 4 times higher for highly educated women than for women who were not highly educated, and this rate amounted to around 10 times in relation to female migrants from Asia (Dumitru's calculations based on data from Brücker et al. 2013 cited in her study). In its Human Development Report of 2009, the UNDP suggested that the likelihood of migration of highly educated women to OECD countries stood at least at a forty percent higher rate than that of men (IOM-OECD 2014). Therefore, to give credential to the compound social, cultural and financial considerations that determine both acquisition and use of tertiary degrees before and after migration, and also in concert with growing interest in the increasing percentage of highly educated women migrants (e.g. Ferrant and Tuccio 2015), this research studies *highly educated* women migrants. Not incidentally, the use of the concept *highly educated* is equally practical in a sense it allows to overcome definitional bias that the notion of *skilled* might have conjured. For the purpose of my research, those people are considered highly educated who have obtained or were very close to acquisition of a tertiary degree from a higher education institution in their home, host or other countries.

(ii) (Highly) Skilled (Women) Migrants in the UK

There is a long history of (highly) skilled migration to the UK in the form of labour migration. Although it dates back the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Kofman and Raghuram 2006), skilled migration to the UK has significantly increased from the 1950s, and more prominently from the 1960s. In the 1960s, the increasingly prosperous Western countries such as the UK, with their enlarged state-provided welfare provision systems,

faced a significant shortage of adequate home-grown manpower. The need for professionals in the often feminised welfare areas of education and health provision (Kofman and Raghuram 2006) resulted in the arrival of skilled labour, primarily and historically from former British colonies (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). For example, at the time a great number of female nurses migrated from the Caribbean, while many primarily male overseas doctors also entered the UK as labour migrants (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Their socio-legal integration was enhanced by the fact that these Commonwealth migrants in general already possessed British citizenship or were otherwise subjects of the Crown (Clayton 2014). Also, they had often acquired academic qualifications and sometimes also training in the British-influenced institutions of their home countries, in the course of which they acquired good English knowledge (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). The immigration system of the time already accredited high value to the skills of migrants through the provision of employment vouchers based on certain skills (Clayton 2016; Raghuram and Kofman 2002). This method was in line with the control and selection-oriented immigration regimes of many immigration destination Western countries which gave credit to hard skills and which in consequence facilitated immigration of skilled labour migrants, whilst slowed down the flow of less skilled labour (Iredale 1999).

At the end of the 1970s, the official approach to immigration shifted together with a change in the central government when the Conservative Party came into power. In line with the newly embraced neo-liberal approach to state welfare provision, the welfare sector which employed a significant number of skilled migrants was slimmed down. This, in practice, caused a sharp decrease in work permits issued to both skilled and unskilled migrants to the UK, thereby significantly curtailing labour migration in general (Raghuram and Kofman 2002).

By the 1990s, nearly two decades of the politics of scaling down welfare had led to shortages in certain occupations of the welfare sector, such as in education, health and social work (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). These professional branches traditionally took up a great number of skilled women migrants (Kofman et al. 2005). As Raghuram and Kofman (2002) noted, by the mid-90s 40% of skilled women migrants worked as professionals or managers in the EHW (education, health, and welfare) sector as opposed to 7% of migrant men with long-term right to stay in the country (Salt and Singleton 1995). Although the demand for labour could not be met from within the UK, the insufficient number of available professionals coincided with long awaited, newly adopted EU rules on the harmonisation of professional qualifications. These rules allowed mutual recognition and accreditation of qualifications of some highly regulated professions, which greatly impacted on skilled

migration flows throughout the EU (Raghuram and Kofman 2002), as many more EU qualified professional became more willing to embark on an intra-EU migration journey. Moreover, from the mid-80s new immigration restrictions came into force which led to an immense drop in the number of overseas (including Indian) medical professionals and dentists entering and finding employment in the UK (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Many of those women migrants already residing in the UK, especially from Chinese, South Asian and Turkish backgrounds (Struder 2002), became self-employed primarily to overcome mainstream labour market penalties, and also to create more flexible working arrangements that could allow for childcare (Kofman et al. 2005).

From the 1980s, but most notably from the 1990s, the UK also entered the intensified global competition for skilled labour in the finance, management and information and communication technology (ICT) sectors of the global knowledge economy. Such professional fields were less regulated than those of the welfare sector (Kofman et al. 2005). The globally mobile employees of international corporations were often *de facto* exempt from the normally highly restrictive immigration rules and state defined employment structures (Raghuram and Kofman 2002), and could thus move more freely in a globalised financial labour market (Hay 2000). Although such sectors have historically employed predominantly male migrants, women have also been increasingly present among them (see for instance Raghuram's (2008) account of Indian female ICT workers, or Roos (2013) for the presence of women ICT workers from Belgium), however at a rate still lagging far behind that of men (Kofman et al. 2005).

From 1997 and more precisely by 2000, with the new Labour government in power, there was a shift in the official government approach about labour migration. Government rhetoric focused on the realignment of labour migration rules to become more flexible and thus to allow more labour migrants into the country (JCWI 2001). In 2001, work permit rules became more permissive, with fewer qualification requirements and with (the plan of a) more efficient immigration administration (Clayton 2016). This intention was reinforced in the 2002 White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, which formally acknowledged that skilled labour was socio-economically useful for the country. The term 'managed migration' was increasingly used for an approach that prioritised diverse but normatively controlled and controllable streams of migration with possible links with employment (Düvell and Jordan 2003), such as in particular labour migration but also student or asylum migration. The use of the term also testified to the government's wish to control migrants in a 'selective and selected' way, by allowing the skilled in whilst keeping the less skilled out (Kofman 2002; Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Within the scope of this approach, professionals were once

again recruited to work in the by now highly feminised education and health sectors, and especially in the National Health Service, to overcome their serious human resource shortfalls. This led to a surge in the number of arrivals to the UK of skilled and often female migrants. For instance, as Kofman et al. showed us, in 2002 women constituted more than half (54%) of the new full registrant doctors to the General Medical Council.

The 2002 White Paper's initiatives resulted in the launch of the Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP). This consisted of an immigration route for the most skilled labour migrants (and their families) with a right of entry and employment in the UK without the need for any job offers (Clayton 2016). The selection was based on appropriate skills linked to qualifications and work history. Although the HSMP provided a route for entry for many skilled migrant women as well, the stratifying (Morris 2002) and gendered labour migration rules still favoured those skills that were more easily achievable by men without certain socio-cultural obligations (such as childcare) or opportunities (linked to education) (Kofman et al. 2005). The route was popular among Indian highly skilled labour migrants who made up between a third and a half of all numbers entering through this route in 2005 with 6,716, and in 2006 with 9,091 entries (Somerville and Dhudwar 2010).

Very soon afterwards, the opening up of the borders came to a halt. By 2005 quotas were put in place for economic migrants. The 2005 White Paper *Controlling our Borders: Making Migration Work for Britain* laid down the foundations of a points-based tier system covering all work and study migration paths (Clayton 2016) whose 'criteria were uncompromisingly economic' (Clayton 2016: 308). The Points-Based System (PBS), implemented from 2008, envisaged an immigration control mechanism of five distinct tiers. Tier 1 (replacing the previous HSMP) offered an entry route for highly skilled labour migrants, self-employed or investors. Tier 2 succeeded the by then scrapped work permit scheme (this route was widely used by non-EEA medical practitioners). Tier 4 created an entry route for student migrants (Clayton 2016). Even prior to the implementation of the PBS, in 2006, entry of non-EEA medical graduates became more difficult due to certain restrictive immigration rules related to medical training (Clayton 2016). Also, the coming into force of the PBS coincided with the global financial and economic crisis that brought about unemployment and austerity measures, directly leading to stronger immigration control interventions. Table 1 below shows that the proportion of work permits issued to Indian nationals increased significantly in the New Labour era, between 1997 and 2008. From 2001, India emerged as the biggest sending country for work permit holders to the UK (Somerville and Dhudwar 2010).

Table [1]: Percentage of Work Permits and First Permissions Issued in the UK to those of Indian Nationality 1996-2008

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Percent	10.1	12.7	15.1	13.5	19.0	19.9	21.4	23.3	30.1	33.9	37.4	41.2	41.5

Source: Somerville and Dhudwar 2010, based on SOPEMI, 2007, Tables p. 81 and SOPEMI, 2008, p. 82.

From 2008, and especially from 2010, the Coalition, and later the current Conservative government's approach to migration in general could be summarised in vocal and heavily mediatised attempts to reduce migration to the 'tens of thousands' (the then Home Secretary Theresa May's promise of 2010 and also in 2017 as Prime Minister). As intra-EU skilled migrant labour cannot be legally restricted from entering and working in the country, at least until the moment the UK leaves the EU, this in theory could only apply to non-EEA migrants, be they skilled or not. If such a target was achieved, which at present cannot yet be foreseen, a sharp drop in the number of skilled migrants could also occur.

(iii) *Indian (Highly) Skilled Women Migrants in the UK*

As seen in section 1.2.1 (ii), various causes contributed to increased migration of the skilled from India to the UK. Certain socio-economic conditions that arose in the UK in the second half of the twentieth century can be attributed to higher demand for migrant labour. However, the socio-politico-economic contexts of late twentieth/early twenty-first century India cannot be overlooked. It is essential to contextualise skilled human mobilities from India against these aspects of Indian society, as these may amount to possible 'push' factors to migrate from the home country.

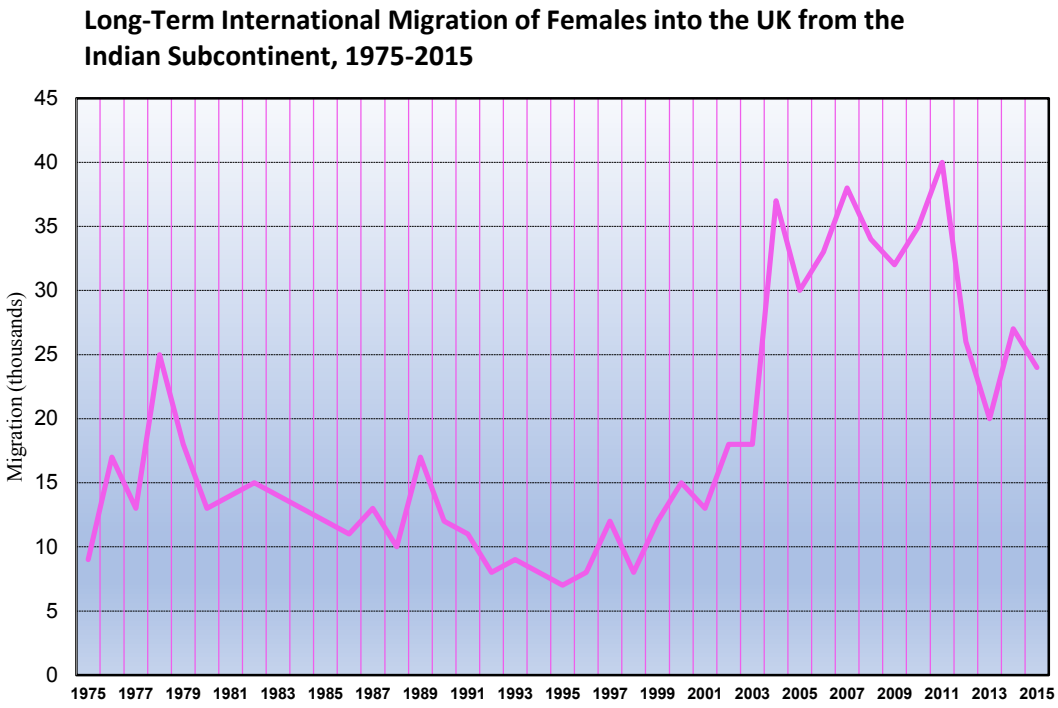
Since its independence from British rule in 1947, India has witnessed deep socio-economic changes. The 'seemingly uniform and all-powerful' (Münster and Strümpell, 2014) Nehruvian post-colonialist era already saw institutional initiatives to enhance economic growth (Kohli 2009). These processes, according to some, could already be labelled as neoliberal (Neveling 2014). In 1991, the government of India introduced new policies of economic liberalisation. It opened Indian markets to foreign investments, and aimed to achieve a weightier Indian world market presence (Upadhya and Vasavi 2008). The date of 1991, as neoliberal voices contend, is a 'threshold' date (Carswell and de Neve 2014) that marks the beginning of a period of growth in contemporary Indian history (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007). However, other thinkers, such as Münster and Strümpell (2014), strongly contest this view; they posit that 'historical and regional variations in experiences with

economic liberalisation … render assumptions of a neoliberal hegemony in contemporary India doubtful' (p. 2) In particular, as neoliberal economic advancement do not necessarily entail profound changes in caste relations and social disparities in a linear way (Carswell and De Neve 2014). In this vein, Amartya Sen suggests that debates on policies should be redirected from focusing largely on economic liberalization and marketization to the creation of social opportunities which would be tremendously needed, and which also could lead to economic development (2011: 24-25). However, it cannot be denied that since the 1990s, new types of job opportunities have emerged, resulting in higher standards of living of certain layers of society, notably of some of the middle classes, as Fuller and Narasimhan (2007) argue. India has entered the global knowledge economy, however not as a recipient country of the highly educated (at least not until very recently), but by training and often sending abroad highly educated, mainly ICT professionals and engineers, as well as a great number of professionals in the health and education fields (cf. Raghuram 2008). The establishment of specialised universities, such as the top institution Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), modelled on the world-famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology, also served as a conscious attempt to train the 'best and brightest' knowledge economy professionals (Khadria 2006). Also, India became a well-known outsourcing hub for major companies of mainly the global North seeking cheap, educated and English-speaking labour force (Khadria 2006). Even today, much of its education and training system is fundamentally defined by the British legacy, with English as the mean of instruction (Raghuram and Kofman 2002), thereby making highly educated Indians very attractive in migrant destination countries such as the UK from as early as the 1960s (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Not only this, many of the newly trained professionals cannot find appropriate work with desired salaries in an India with a fast growing population, contributing to emigration of the highly skilled/educated from the country. Thus, migration for career betterment purposes, as Hannelore Roos (2013) remarked, 'has become a common practice of the educated middle-class in India' (p. 147), 'a routine pathway for learning and knowledge acquisition' (p. 150). In addition, studying in the United Kingdom also seems to be a 'tradition' for a great number of Indian middle-class families (Naujoks 2009), especially at the graduate level. As already discussed, students in general form a 'reserve army' in host country labour markets in most immigrant destination countries, including the UK, and accordingly, many of them (manage to) stay and possibly enter the labour market following completion of their studies (Kofman et al. 2005), although this has become much more difficult in the past few years.

Of the Indians who have arrived in the UK in significant numbers in several waves and flows, women form a considerable proportion. Chart 1 below presents statistical data on the

number of long-term female migrants from the Indian subcontinent to the UK. Although the disaggregated data cover four countries of the subcontinent (i.e. India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka), it can be reasonably assumed that Indians make up most of these numbers.

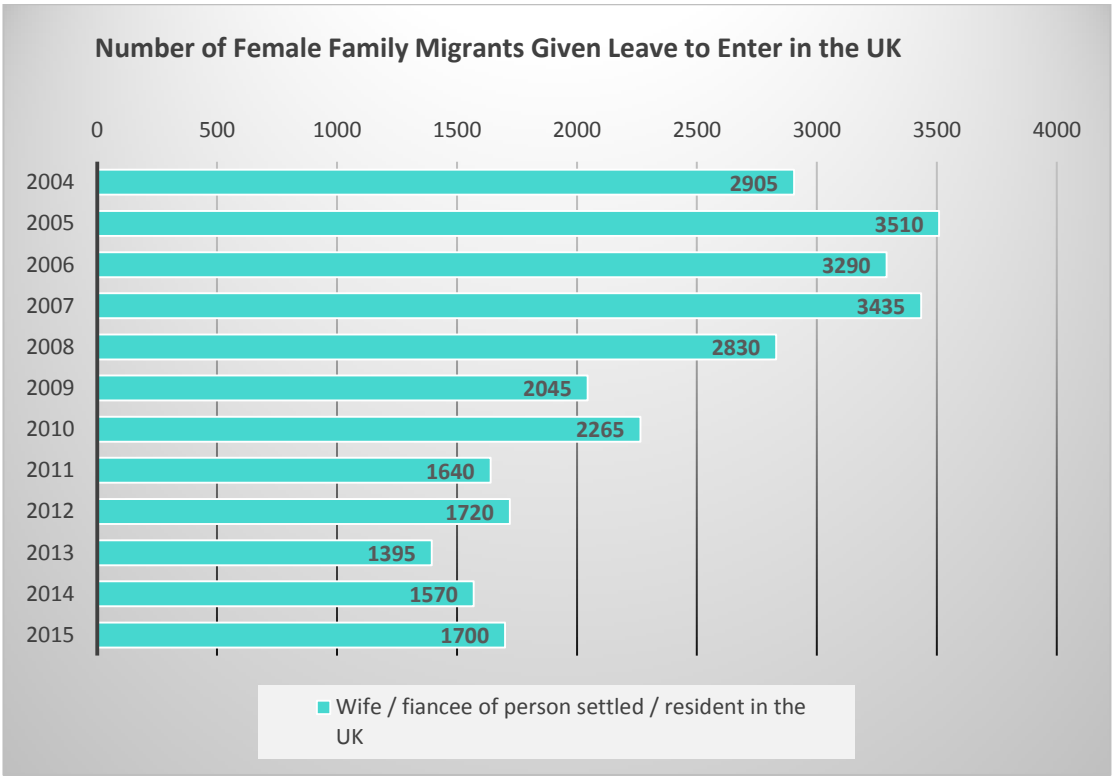
Chart 1: International Passenger Survey estimate of long-term international migration of females into the United Kingdom, 1975-2015, from the Indian Subcontinent (figure shows total migration)



Source: ONS LTIM, Chart 3.04a.

Although the precise number is not known, it is surmised that there is an important number of (highly) skilled women among these migrants. Although the concept of skilled migration is traditionally linked to labour migration in both political discourse and much of the migration scholarship, this latter route of entry of skilled migrant women in practice remains less significant than the scarcely mediatised - at least in relation to (highly) skilled migrants - family migration route. For a longer time, entry as a spouse has been the most prominent migration route to the UK for women, and most probably of (highly) skilled women from India (Kofman 2000; Raghuram 2000). The following Chart 2 gives a brief overview of the number of those female family migrants who entered in the UK in the last decade, either as the wife of a person settled in the UK or a fiancée granted entry for marriage to a UK resident.

Chart 2: Number of Female Family Migrants Given Leave to Enter in the UK



Source: Home Office, Admissions Data Table ad_03_f, January to March 2017.

Also, the family migration route is less controllable by the state than other routes of entry, at least in the long run. Many of the (highly) skilled migrant women who entered the UK as family migrants would later appear on the host country's labour market. Even though the number of these women might be high, they do not figure in labour migration statistics (Raghuram and Kofman 2002).

(Highly) skilled women arrive in the UK in high numbers as students and asylum seekers, as well. Regarding student migration, India has for a long time been among the top four source countries of students enrolled in UK higher education institutions, although with a sharply dropping tendency in this last decade with 29,900 student enrolments in year 2011/12, against 16,745 in 2015/16 (HESA First Statistical Release 242 (2015-16) Table 9). By 2005 women comprised approximately half of the overseas students studying in UK higher education institutions at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels (Kofman et al. 2005), which trend is in line with more recent statistics on female non-UK (meaning from both EU and non-EU) migrants studying in the UK, standing at a rate of 52% in 2015/16 (HESA 'Introduction - Students 2015-16' Table C and Table D). Asylum or other forms of

entry in the UK of (highly) skilled women will not be discussed in this section due to constraints of scope of the thesis.

1.2.2 Integration Policies in the UK

As immigration is a highly politicised issue, it is not surprising that integration also shares this quality. However, why is integration an important issue? Is it tackled adequately in the UK or is it overlooked? Is it at all necessary for mainstream politics to face the issue of integration? What exactly does the notion 'integration of immigrants' mean? These are all interesting and relevant questions to answer or at least think about. Answers to these, if they exist, are not clear-cut, and although they are especially pertinent and linked to it, most of them fall outside the scope of my research.

In the last 15 years, integration has become a major topic of political discourse at the highest governmental level in the UK. Central government is arguably the most powerful actor in the integration process, as it lays down fundamental rules and thus the structural framework for major politicies, although there is a consensus that local governments are certainly better placed to execute integration measures (Kofman et al. 2012). However, despite the need for action from the government's side, there do not appear to have been any real attempts until now (Rutter 2013) to formulate specific integration policies in the UK (Collett and Petrovic 2014), apart from those addressing refugees (such as the refugee integration strategy 'Full and Equal Citizens' of 2000, or 'Integration Matters' from 2005). Rather, integration is addressed by mainstream, non-specific integration policies that affect not only migrants but the UK population in general (Collett and Petrovic 2014). This fact is attributed by some to the immigration history of the UK, and in particular to emphasis on 'ethnic minorities, race relations, and social cohesion – an outcome that is the legacy of post-colonial immigration flows' (Collett and Petrovic 2014: 1). A plethora of further theoretical approaches and ideological currents have also been impacting on the issue of integration of the wider immigrant/ethnic migrant population of the UK, such as anti-discrimination, multiculturalism, and more recently securitisation (Rutter 2013) (studied in more detail in Chapter 2, Literature Review). As Rutter argues, from 2000, different discourses linked to these different ideological approaches swallowed integration discourses (Rutter 2013). As Penninx posited, in recent decades the immigration policies of the major European countries became 'ad hoc, reactive and control-oriented', and they stemmed from a 'basic non-acceptance of immigration' (2005: 138). From the Ouseley and Cantle Reports (detailed in Chapter 2), it became clear that integration is no longer considered a two-way process (if it

ever was); the onus of integrating rests with the immigrants and ethnic minorities (Finney and Simpson 2009: 95). This idea has been accentuated in more recent integration-related reports (Casey Review 2016; APPG Report 2017).

Parallel to over-emphasising community cohesion, four major current tendencies can be identified in integration discourses in the UK at central government level. Firstly, integration began meaning 'civic integration' in many Global North countries, including the UK (Joppke 2004, 2007, 2013; Jacobs and Rea 2007). The concept of civic integration stands for certain 'aggressive' forms of integration measures (Triadafilopoulos 2011) comprising mandatory integration courses, tests of language knowledge, and citizenship tests with the aim to find out whether individuals have interiorised British norms and values. Joppke argues that the true originality of this approach 'is to fuse the immigrant integration with the immigration control function, which previously had been processed in separate policies and regulatory regimes' (2013: 40). Civic integration policy, he believes, acts as a surrogate for an integration policy adopted by the national government in today's super-diverse British society, and may be viewed as a bunch of symbolic acts of the State to persuade natives that the question of immigration is under control (Rutter 2013). Secondly, current British immigration politics is strongly focused on securitisation (Rutter 2013). Immigration is considered as a security risk (Prins & Slijper 2002), especially in the light of the international and internal terrorist events since 2001. There is growing suspicion and fear, articulated in government discourses, that the views of certain immigrants, ethnic and religious minorities are 'non-compatible' with 'British values' and that they are not willing to integrate. Thirdly, strongly linked to securitisation, the success of community cohesion and integration is thought to depend on the control of admission of certain groups to Britain (Schuster & Solomos 2004), based to a certain extent on an underlying 'assumption that migrants create social problems due to assumed lack of integration' (Kofman et al. 2012).

From 2004, with the accession of many of the former Eastern Bloc countries to the EU, a mass influx of migrants arrived in the UK. Their entry could not be controlled by Britain, due to the basic EU principle of the free movement of persons. Although these immigrants were mainly white labour migrants, and thus could not fit under either the refugee or the coloured ethnic minority labels, their high number raised concerns, also exacerbated by the media. Kofman et al. (2012) pointed out a fourth important trend in mainstream British integration discourses: that policy making in the arena of integration is not and cannot remain simply an internal affair of the UK, but is informed both by horizontal and vertical Europeanisation. According to them, the integration discourse in Britain is deeply informed by a strong activism at the European level, instead of being organic to the UK. Although the

EU has no power to enact laws on the issue of integration that would either be directly applicable or transposable in the Member States, its recommendations and soft laws have been informing integration policies and thus legislation of its Member States. Not incidentally, the highly important EU funding is generally attached to compliance with certain EU initiatives and projects. Therefore, EU law, indirectly, has also constituted a significant integration framework in the UK, which could not be bypassed by UK policy makers and thus needed to be dealt with.

Government level refugee integration policies, nevertheless, exist in Britain, e.g. 'Full and Equal Citizens' of 2000, or 'Integration Matters' from 2005, although the area was heavily influenced by European discourse and policies. These are based on findings from numerous research projects involving refugees, and they contain detailed suggestions as to where and how integration should be achieved. As these policies claim, their aim is that refugees become full, active members of their new society by assigning integration roles and rights to both the State and the refugees. Refugees, however, constitute only a relatively small minority of immigrants with specific integration-related needs, which might differ, at least to a certain extent, from the needs of the wider migrant population of the UK.

1.2.3 Definition of Integration

But how is the concept of integration construed and understood? As Castles et al. put it, 'there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated' (2001: 12). The notion of integration has different meanings for policy makers at local, national and supranational levels, for scholars, for the public, and for the immigrants themselves. Many have attempted to capture the essence of the concept by using at least working definitions, varying from simple to more complex ones (a more detailed description can be found in Chapter 2, Literature Review). These definitions are heavily contextualised; it is essential to root them in their respective political, social, economic, and historic environments, and as such they reflect related perspectives. Also, the concept of integration is often conflated with other concepts (Ager and Strang 2004), which makes it a challenge to find a common denominator.

Although seeking migrants' understanding of the notion would be necessary for unwrapping the concept, a relative disinterest appears to linger at the level of policy making. Since UK integration programmes 'traditionally' targeted refugees, it seemed obvious to map refugees' views on integration in the first place (e.g. Ager and Strang 2004; Rutter et al. 2007;

Hammond 2013). Lately, however, a number of scholars have begun to concentrate on the concept of integration as understood by immigrants as a wider group (Amin 2007; Brubaker et al. 2008; Korac 2003; Rutter et al. 2008; Wessendorf 2011). Their numerous pieces of qualitative social research unveil a pragmatic and less abstract approach to the conceptualisation of integration. Instead they concentrate on tangible, 'everyday' social interactions and spaces which can be directly linked to migrants' lives, such as those happening at their workplace, their children's schools, sports clubs, or related to their housing conditions and relations with neighbours (Cherti and McNeill 2012).

Another important reason for difficulties in establishing a straightforward integration definition is that the concept carries inherent ambiguities. These are uncertainties related to the agents, space, time, responsibility, etc. of (non-)integration. Who integrates? Do immigrants indeed have to integrate, or can one opt for non-integration, even if only to a certain extent, without being problematised? Whose responsibility is it to integrate? What exactly are the roles of the agents in the integration equation? Is integration a 'two-way street' in practice, or only in discourses? What evidence are assumptions around integration based on? Integrating into what (Zhou 1997)? By talking about integrating into society, we assume that society is a homogeneous entity. But is this really the case? How does it relate to the assumption that natives form a close-knit, unalterable group, an ethnicity, and that societies are homogeneous (cf. those contesting such ideas: Yuval-Davis 1991; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Conzen et al. 1992)? Or, the question could also emerge, are all native Brits integrated? Does integration mean becoming part of the mainstream or can one integrate into subcultures, as well? Does integrating in the 'core culture' apply only to immigrants (Cantle 2001), whilst native Brits may be considered well integrated outside the mainstream as well? Or can the notion of integration be understood by taking into account transnational social sites (Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Faist 2000)? Do transnational ties affect integration, and if yes, in what way (Kivisto 2003; Levitt 2007; Erdal and Oeppen 2013)? If we look at divisions alongside class and educational level, many studies show that lower educated, working class migrants often experience hardship in integrating or show peculiar integration patterns in the host society (e.g. Portes and Zhou 1993). On the other hand, there is a popular belief that higher educated, non-working-class migrants do not have particular difficulties related to integration. Is this argument valid? How do these very people, the highly educated, 'comfortable' middle-class migrants, feel about this issue?

As is evident from this summary, it is impossible to provide a robust definition of integration. Nevertheless, we can strive to collect ideas and understandings of integration from the migrants themselves. This would allow us to gain deeper knowledge of their

integration trajectories, i.e. how they navigate their life in their adopted country. Such knowledge could ultimately have a positive impact on policy making.

1.2.4 Research on Women's Migration

Initial theoretical and empirical social research on migrants until the mid-1970s concentrated on male migrants, and, primarily, on the less-skilled ones. This approach was chiefly informed by the traditional view of immigration as divided into male migrants who were seen as producers, an active and desirable work force, and female migrants, considered as reproducers, passive and dependent elements (Kofman 1999). This perspective permeated early migration research. Periodisation and gradualism in the distinct routes of migration, such as labour migration followed by (and by no means parallel to) family migration (Castles and Miller 1993: 8-9), were clearly observable in countries adopting guest worker immigration policy schemes (e.g. in Germany). In other countries known for their colonial history, such as the UK, family migration was a constant and major route for migration from very early on. In these countries, married women often migrated together with their husbands. In both cases, the traditional categorisation fed the assumption that women migrants had lower skills in various respects, such as being less educated and having language difficulties, and were restricted to the social space of the family.

From the late 1970s women gradually appeared as objects of migration research. However, as Morokvasic (1984, 1991) argued, these studies were unable to have a noticeable impact on policy making. The first significant body of social research on migrant women focused on certain specific sectors where lesser skills were sufficient, and where jobs were mostly seen as undesirable by natives and entailed a low social position (Kofman 2000). These consisted primarily of work done within the private sphere, i.e. domestic work of caring and cleaning (Anderson 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003), and also in the sex industry (Sassen 2000), or under insecure work conditions in both formal and informal economies, e.g. in manufacturing (Phizacklea 1983). Subsequent research on women migrants targeted 'problematic' groups (Kofman 1997), usually of Muslim background. Although these studies highlighted the precarious life conditions of vulnerable groups of migrant women, such research had for a long time failed to encompass the less vulnerable, and the more educated/skilled migrant women.

More recent scholarly research has focused on the skilled and highly skilled women migrants (Kofman 2000, 2013; Iredale 2004; Raghuram 2004, 2008, Kofman and Raghuram 2004, 2005, 2009; etc.) (the terms 'skill' and 'highly skilled' has been investigated in Section 1.2.1

(i) above). Highly skilled, working migrant women epitomise the 'perfect migrants': they are assumed to form part of the host society easily, be well integrated in the labour market, speak the language of the host country, be active taxpayers and therefore can by no means be considered burdens on the state. Hence, the recounted historical malestream assumptions about female migrants need to be reconsidered in their case. Nevertheless, as many scholars have pointed out (e.g. Iredale 1987; Putnam 2000; Raghuram and Kofman 2002; Moorhouse and Cunningham 2010; Shinnaoui & Narchal 2010), a high skill / education level does not necessarily mean finding work commensurate with skills and qualifications in the host country. The transmission and validation of skills in the country of residence remains a complex process and is dependent upon certain structural and other factors, besides the agency of the migrants. This phenomenon is widely explored in the literature on the deskilling and brain waste of immigrants. This strand of literature provides us with rich data on how immigrants negotiate their labour market integration, and especially what are the difficulties and obstacles in this process, both neutral and gendered ones (e.g. Salaff and Greve 2004; Iredale 2005; Purkayastha 2005; Kofman 2012).

1.3 Aims and Importance of the Research

The title of my research is 'Understandings of Integration amongst Highly Educated Indian Women Migrants Living in the UK'. By way of this research I aim to investigate and gain information about a narrow aspect of integration, primarily, on how the women migrant participants who are highly educated, from the higher middle class (this latter emerged from my research), and were born in India construe the vague concept of integration in its empirical groundedness.

Examining perceptions of integration of highly educated migrant women is especially relevant as there is an increasing number of highly educated women migrants among the migrant population of the UK that has not been given adequate attention. My research focuses on Indian highly educated women migrants. In particular, as there has been a constant, albeit fluctuating, flow of highly educated women migrants who have entered the UK as family migrants over the past 50 years, many of whom later occupied positions in a wide range of sectors of the labour market, including health and education. Further, highly skilled labour and student migration to the UK of Indian women has also been significant, with periodic skilled labour migration waves that have been prompted by the dual constellation of internal labour market shortages and permissive immigration policies designed in acknowledgement of the former (with an important skilled migration stream

since 2001 in particular to fill welfare sector shortages of the labour market). Indian student migrants have for a long time constituted a cohort of potential future labour market players. Many of them have had good English knowledge upon arrival in the UK, due to the educational legacy of the former British rule in India (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Further, many of them (family migrants) were neither subject to quotas restricting entry to the country, nor did they require a work permit allowing participation in the labour market (as opposed to more restrictive US or Canadian immigration rules for instance). Encountering seemingly fewer entry obstacles to the labour market might contribute to a lower level of professional downward movement (brain drain). Nevertheless, language knowledge and advantageous immigration law status may not suffice to fully counter various other labour market obstacles (although see for instance EAVES (2015) for a contrast, where lack of appropriate language knowledge of spouse migrants highly and negatively impacted on labour market presence, leading in many cases to deskilling). For example, there have been notable labour market impediments in highly regulated sectors such as medicine (Raghuram 2004) or law, related mainly to recognition of qualifications and training, or not giving adequate credit to previous home country work experience (EAVES 2015).

In addition, central governmental and mainstream political discourses centre around specific, 'problematic' migrants. These persons are mainly defined in terms of their religious (Muslim) or ethnic affiliations, and gender (predominantly female migrants), while a lower skill level and patchy English language knowledge are often invoked and linked to these former attributes. Rhetoric equating the migrant population with this specifically delineated group of migrants contributes to the public perception and construction of migrants being a homogeneous group. This approach turns a blind eye to the fact that the migrant population in the UK is extremely heterogeneous, super-diverse (Vertovec 2007), and as such rapidly changing (*Guardian* 2016). Also, since central government focus is predominantly on unsuccessful integration of specific ethnic minorities, the integration of highly educated women migrants who are not defined based on their ethnic or religious affiliations remains barely visible. Besides, the demographic landscape of the UK has markedly changed since the 1950s. British society, particularly London, has become super-diverse (Vertovec 2007), at a 'level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country had previously experienced', which can be observed through

> a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (2007: 1024).

Such fundamental transformation of British demographics affected both policy-making (where politicians are constantly concerned about potentially unsatisfied constituents and act in a way to appease them) and public opinion, in particular in relation to immigration and integration. A feeling of unsettlement emerged in the native population, also amplified by the negative mediatisation, especially by populist media. Although the topic of immigration was not even considered among the top 10 issues in any major British opinion polls 20 years ago (1997) at which time migration was at relatively low levels, by the 2001 elections, 12% of the population saw immigration and race relations as among the most important political issues, which ratio climbed up to 25% in only four years' time (IPSOS Mori). According to a recent survey, by 2016, the year of the 'Brexit' referendum on Britain's decision to leave the EU, immigration had become the most important issue for 34% of those answering the survey compared, for instance, with 31% seeing the economy as the major issue (IPSOS Mori 2016).

To examine the integration-related issues of highly educated Indian women migrants is ever more relevant, especially in view of the growing number of highly educated people among the migrant population of the UK, and that women have become the majority among immigrants to the UK (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017). Moreover, it is assumed that only 'problematic' migrants have integration-related needs and eventual difficulties. As the findings of this research will show, highly educated women migrants may experience a lower level of the problems normally associated with integration, such as for instance difficulties due to little English knowledge (cf. EAVES 2015). Nevertheless, highly educated women migrants may still have integration-related challenges, although maybe of a different nature from what their lesser educated counterparts might confront.

This research, therefore, attempts to expose understandings of integration of the politically barely visible, yet increasingly numerous group of people: the highly educated women migrants, perceived as *non-problematic* within the UK's immigrant population. In doing so, it endeavours to enrich the literature on integration by accentuating integration-related knowledge of this less mediatised, but significant and important migrant group, positioned at the intersection of gender, educational level, and class. Also, the findings could ultimately promote the adoption of more balanced integration-related measures in the UK.

Recording and considering migrants' views is of particular importance (Erdal 2013). By providing them with a platform to express their personal apprehensions of the vague concept of integration in order to include them in the process of knowledge creation, their paramount role is recognised. This helps to gain a clearer understanding of this contested concept,

which in turn could improve policy making in the field of integration, enhance public perceptions about integration (and of migrants), and finally contribute to positive future integration practices. To find out more about how integration is apprehended by migrants is even more pressing as integration is often construed as a 'two-way process' between migrants and the host country society, a premise that might not be felt as such by those who (are expected to) integrate. Therefore, instead of looking further and investigating the barriers or challenges to integration, this project, in a sense, constitutes a preliminary study to most studies focusing on integration. Further, it is understood that the participants' ideas around integration may to a certain extent be influenced by integration concepts gained from the media, as they cannot disconnect themselves from easily available information floating around them. My aim is not to critique their integration concept. Nevertheless, by giving voice to the migrants, I will not only approach the issue of integration from the point of view of the minority and less powerful in the power relation between state and immigrants, but also acknowledge and highlight the role of intersectionalities as a framework for research (Anthias 2012), which is often overlooked in integration discourses.

Also, mapping understandings of integration can importantly contribute to our knowledge about the experience of integrating. Integration manifests itself in active behaviour performed by migrants in their daily lives in the host country. Amidst the everyday challenges that need to be manoeuvred by the migrants as best as possible, it is not surprising that little thought is usually given by them to what the concept of integration would mean for them. For that, cognitive withdrawal from the flow of everyday events would be needed to create space for reflection on the same. However, it is surmised that migrants in general may have lesser interest in and, indeed, need of such conscious reflection, an activity inherent to social sciences. Yet, migrants who live their own integration are particularly well-positioned to think about the concept of integration. Their reflection on integration leads to the construction of a type of meta-knowledge that is often implicitly known but often without reaching the level of consciousness. As there is a relative paucity in the literature on this type of reflection (albeit see e.g. EAVES 2015), it is relevant to expose such knowledge and the way it is construed. Particularly, as understandings of integration is not only grounded in integration practices and experiences, but could in its turn shape the same.

Although a great number of fairly recent studies considered understandings of integration of migrants as a wider group (e.g. Amin 2007 in Rutter 2013; Brubaker et al 2008; Cherti and McNeil 2012; Korac 2003; Rutter et al. 2007; Rutter et al. 2008; Wessendorf 2011), hitherto, few research projects have studied understandings of integration taking into account the gender element (e.g. EAVES 2015 on women migrants), and educational level. For instance,

the Settling In Project (EAVES 2015) aimed at investigating, among other things, integration concepts of women who arrived in the UK on spousal or partner visas. The main recruitment criterion of that research, however, besides gender, was the entry route of participants, and as such it did not use geographical, socio-economic or educational backgrounds as filters for recruitment, apart from limiting the study to third country (i.e. non-EU) nationals. The present research attempts to reduce the geographical and socio-economic heterogeneity of the examined group by interviewing women from the same country, being all highly educated, and, as it turned out, nearly all from relatively privileged socio-economic backgrounds. This is especially relevant, as socially and financially privileged migrant women have not been studied as frequently as the less privileged, who are often viewed as vulnerable (e.g. Anderson 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Kilkey et al. 2013).

This study can contribute to our better understanding of the conceptualisation of the notion of integration as perceived by this specific group of migrants, and could ultimately impact immigration policy in a positive way.

1.4 Research Questions

The study therefore attempts to answer the following research questions:

1) How do highly educated migrant women from India conceptualise the notion of integration in the United Kingdom? What are their understandings of integration?

Related to the above, I also aim to study whether any patterns in understandings of integration become visible that could be linked to age, length of stay in the UK, route of arrival, and profession of the participants.

Following data collection, another research question emerged in relation to the pre-migration lives of the migrant participants:

2) Can any common, pre-migration factors or circumstances be identified that impact on understandings of integration? If yes, in what way do these factors impact on integration?

1.5 Methodology / Methods

The research is based on the qualitative interpretivist theoretical approach. The approach's constructive ontology emphasises that realities are created and recreated by the social actors inhabiting them, by attributing values to the different social actions (Weber 1962). The participants are such actors; they (re)create and interpret the realities they live in. When attempting to build their concept of integration, their way of thinking is shaped by their physical and mental existence, which manifests itself in their expectations, experiences, perceptions, and reflections. The ontology of interpretivism can be decoded by its epistemological position, which is that of an 'insider'. In practice, such a position entails that the researcher collects meanings of everyday life by 'entering the everyday social world' (Blaikie 1993) of the participants. As the research accords great importance to the participants' interpretations and understandings of social actions (integration being one), I believe the approach of interpretivism is commensurate with the aims of the project.

Prior and parallel to the data collection phase, the integration literature, central government publications and reports, related national and supranational (EU) legislation, and theme-specific scholarly publications were studied, mostly in on-line (journal articles, reports, laws) or hard copy forms (books, other published material). This contributed to critically positioning the project and its findings in the wider integration literature, whilst bearing in mind the socio-economic, political, and historical contexts impacting integration policymaking in the UK.

To gain sufficient quality data, 30 female migrants were interviewed. Although it would have been interesting and useful to collect voices of male migrants and compare them with female opinions and perceptions, lack of time and funding constrained the scope of this research to examining only women. Interviewees were recruited based on the method of purposive sampling, to ensure that the chosen participants fit the predetermined social categories of gender, country of origin, age, education and qualifications, length of stay in the UK and profession. The planned range of interviewees was intended to fit into categories differentiated by route of migration (the varied forms of entry should be more or less equally represented), length of stay (approximately one third of the interviewees having resided in the UK for less than 5 years, another one third between 5 and 15 years, and the remaining third for more than 15 years), and professions (e.g. doctors, ICT specialists, financial/creative industry workers should be equally represented). The recruitment technique was snowballing from various sources, including personal acquaintances from university, sports activities, book and other clubs, and further acquaintances of the participants already identified.

Data was collected through open-ended semi-structured interviews. This has several advantages, the main one being flexibility. It allows the interviewees to express their subjective views on a topic freely, without the risk that the interviews become unbounded (Flick 2009). The data collected was analysed using the qualitative research software NVivo 10. First, the data was content analysed to identify the main codes, being the main factors related to the conceptualisation of the notion of integration. This coding process would hopefully also designate those skills and factors which have a role in the construction of the integration concept. During a second stage of analysis, the interviews were fragmented and rearranged part by part according to these codes. At this stage I aimed to capture recurring themes and practices. These two phases are based to a certain degree on grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin 1990). At a third and final stage, themes were separately studied, and findings were juxtaposed with findings from the relevant literature.

The research involved women who were born in India. This criterion creates delimitation according to the nation-state border, and by no means according to other distinguishing factors such as culture, ethnicity, language, etc. Participants' ethnic affiliation was not particularly explored in the research, except where it could not be avoided. The main reason for this was that even though participants came from the same country, they had differing ethnic backgrounds, which is not surprising, given India's vast and composite nature. The fact that participants had differing cultural and ethnic backgrounds from mine as researcher was expected to have some implications for the research. Although I shared some specificities with the interviewees, such as being a woman, highly educated, and living in the UK, I might have encountered differences as an 'outsider', which might have affected understanding. This could be viewed as a potential shortcoming; nevertheless, it can be helpful in dismantling assumptions or taken-for-granted ideas shared by 'insiders' (Dwyer & Buckle 2009). Therefore, I attempted to remain reflexive throughout the data collection and analysis phases, as constantly operating with a reflexive state of mind would hopefully avoid potential misunderstandings based on inferences and false knowledge (Merriam et al. 2001).

Given the small number of participants, the qualitative approach to the research and the sampling technique, the project does not claim to represent the perceptions of all highly educated migrant women in the UK. However, despite the limited generalisability of the findings, it can still be of importance at a larger scale, as well. Especially, as it aims to shed light on the views on integration of highly educated women migrants, which is a significant and ever growing group among the UK's migrant population. In addition, by carrying out a qualitative study with in-depth interviews, deeper and richer individual data can emerge than by using quantitative research methods.

1.6 Conclusion

This doctoral thesis consists of seven chapters, structured in the following way. Chapter 1 introduces the research by establishing the research territory. In doing so, it provides a brief description of the history of the immigration of the (highly) skilled / educated women migrants to the UK, with special regard to those coming from India. Concepts of *skill, (highly) skilled* and *highly educated* are also briefly discussed. This is followed by a concise description of (the lack of) integration policies in the UK. The chapter attempts to expose some ambiguities around definitions of the concept of integration. Also, it positions the research in the relevant scholarly literature by invoking different strands of migration literature, firstly on women's migration, secondly on migration of the highly skilled/educated. The chapter continues by articulating the aims and importance of the research, clearly stating research questions. It concludes by outlining the methodologies and methods used for the research.

Chapter 2 contains a literature review on integration, highly skilled/educated women's migration, class, and the possible role of urban contexts in relation to integration. The part on integration consists of three main sections. Firstly, there is a policy review exploring integration policies in the UK, ideologies and philosophical currents informing such policies, and integration definitions and understandings used in social policy contexts. This is followed by a theoretical overview of the concept of integration, highlighting the notion's ambiguous nature seriously impacting attempts to define it. Thirdly, migrants' perspectives are also given space, as a separate section explores main pieces of recent research into understandings of integration by immigrants themselves. The second part of Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of research on women's migration. The third part of Chapter 2 focuses on class by embedding the notion in the general social sciences and migration literatures. The overview on class continues with a short description of the middle class, especially in an Indian context. Caste, and its links with (middle) class are also explored. The section concludes with a review of the nexus between class and skills. The last, fourth major section of Chapter 2 revolves around the possible role of cities in relation to migrant integration, with particular regard to relevant strands of the literature on transnationalism, transnational urbanism, translocalism, superdiversity, and cosmopolitanism.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology and the data collection methods used for the research. It considers theories of ontology and epistemology that will be applied to this research. This is followed by consideration of the research sample, including the methods for participants' recruitment and the main data. The circumstances of data collection are described, succeeded by a description of the data analysis process. Certain ethical considerations are also raised in this chapter, while a Gantt chart provides an overview of the (purported) time management of the research. The chapter concludes by discussing issues related to reflexivity.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 describe the research findings. Chapter 4 describes emotive, more abstract ideas that were equated with understandings of integration. Chapter 5 studies the more concrete, action-based, performed understandings of integration. While chapter 6 describes further findings, namely it identifies and examines certain pre-migration life history facts and circumstances which could have deeply impacted on those understandings of integration that have been described in chapters 4 and 5. The order of the findings in Chapters 4-6 was established to reflect a cognitive vector from the more abstract and well-delineated (Chapter 4) towards the more pragmatic and variegated (Chapter 5), by answering the first research question. Chapter 6 contains findings that address the second research question.

Thus, chapter 4 investigates the abstract, affective conceptions of integration. The following main themes are explored: 'this is home', 'being part', 'not feeling a foreigner', 'feeling comfortable', 'feeling secure', and 'feeling free and independent'.

Chapter 5 progresses from the abstract towards the more specific by portraying more concrete integration conceptions aligned along power lines and agency vectors of the two major players in the integration process, i.e. migrants and host country/society. This is viewed, in particular, in relation to the widely echoed idea that integration is a 'two-way process'.

Chapter 6 revolves around certain main pre-migration factors and circumstances which may have significantly impacted understandings of integration. First, exposure, getting used to and feeling confident in (super)diverse environments such as big cities both pre-and post-migration is considered. In this frame, the urban way of life is also looked at. This is followed by a consideration of how participants could have been exposed to British/English culture through their primary and secondary school education in India. By way of examining this latter, attention is given to the role of pre-migration English language learning and knowledge. Finally, as class is viewed as an exceptionally influential determinant of

understandings of integration, it is imperative to reflect on the pre-migration class position of the interviewees.

The final Chapter 7 brings the thesis to a close in which major research findings are recapitulated, gaps noted and its expected contribution to academic knowledge, and possibly to social policy making, highlighted.

2 Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 consists of a review of the literature relevant to examine two major strands of the literature, firstly on the concept of integration, and secondly on migration of highly skilled/educated women.

The 'Literature Review on Integration' part of this chapter will study the concept from the following methodological approaches. Firstly, it will give an overview of the major ideological frameworks and mainstream political approaches that have significantly impacted policy making (or the lack of it) in the area of integration in the UK. This will be followed by a scrutiny of the various definitions of integration appearing at the highest level, chiefly in UK government policy documents. Next, a brief look will be cast at integration at an EU level, which will include identification of integration definitions appearing in principal EU laws. Later, our attention will turn towards scholarly approaches to the concept of integration. The 'Literature Review on Integration' will conclude with a study of migrants' understandings of integration, as learned from the literature.

The second segment of Chapter 2 will contain a 'Literature Review on Migration of (Highly) Skilled/Educated Women', containing a concise description of the evolution of research on migration of women.

This will be followed by the third part of Chapter 2 with its focus on class by embedding the notion in the general social sciences and migration literatures. The overview on class continues with a short description of the middle class, especially in an Indian context. Caste, and its links with (middle) class will also be explored. This part of Chapter 2 will conclude with a review of the nexus between class and skills.

The last, fourth major section of Chapter 2 will revolve around the possible role of cities in relation to migrant integration, with particular regard to relevant strands of the literature on transnationalism, transnational urbanism, translocalism, superdiversity, and cosmopolitanism.

2.2 Integration

2.2.1 Introduction

As previously stated in Chapter 1, integration is an over-politicised, heavily loaded concept. It 'continues to be controversial and hotly debated' (Castles et al. 2001: 12). Integration can be equated with a wide variety of ideas, theories, policies, and practices, depending on the viewpoint or affiliation from which it is observed. For practical research purposes, it is useful to differentiate between the following conceptions of integration (Phillimore 2012). Firstly, integration as a *theoretical* concept that is informed by ideological currents related to the nature of host societies. Secondly, as a body of *policies*, designed by central or local governments and other authorities, with the aim of enabling immigrants to integrate in the host society. Lastly, the concept of integration can also be equated with *practices*, i.e. the practical part of integration, in the way these are experienced by migrants in their everyday lives in the host society. This section (Literature Review on Integration) will chiefly follow this differentiation.

2.2.2 Main Philosophical Frameworks Impacting Approaches to Integration in the UK

This part of the literature review historically traces certain theoretical frameworks that permeated British politics from the 1950s, which impacted on mainstream, chiefly government policy discourses around integration. The following overarching ideological currents will be examined: anti-discrimination and anti-racism (later labelled Race Relations), multiculturalism, and finally (community/social) cohesion. These theoretical stances have never been exclusive, but rather often informed ideas about the nature of society simultaneously, albeit at various levels. Nevertheless, one or the other emerged as more powerful at times, primarily depending on the political and socio-economic contexts of the time, and thus could leave its imprint on political discourses around integration.

(i) Anti-Discrimination / Race Relations and Integration

In the 1940s, numerous displaced European migrants entered the UK. Not only was there the political will and a sympathetic public attitude to help them to integrate, but well-designed integration programmes were also carried out with that aim (Rutter 2013). The majority of

the migrants accommodated in this period were refugees, a specific type of migrants, whose primary aim for migrating was to escape war and its consequences. As this wave of migration did not constitute a constant in-flow of foreigners to the UK, and also, as the UK could display moral superiority by accepting suffering human beings, there was a general positive acceptance of immigrants by the wider population.

In the 1950s, Britain witnessed an economic boom and experienced a labour shortage, which needed to be quickly addressed. Workers thus began to be recruited chiefly from former colonies of the British Empire, i.e. from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. Although these migrants entered the UK mainly as 'citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies', a status granted under the British Nationality Act 1948 (Clayton 2014), they were of different ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds from the British 'natives' of the time (Finney and Simpson 2009: 50). Their visible difference accorded them the name 'coloured immigrants' (Schuster & Solomos 2004). Even though their numbers were not high, their conspicuous difference fuelled strong and growing prejudice among the population (Solomos 2003). The then Home Secretary Roy Jenkins attempted to take the heat out of the issue, expressing what integration meant for the government in a multicultural socio-political setting:

> Integration is perhaps a rather loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman . . . I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, coupled with cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (Jenkins 1967: 267).

Nevertheless, racist concerns, especially around the possible consequences of coloured migration 'on the racial character' of the 'native' Britons (Solomos 2003; Schuster & Solomos 2004), began emerging. Public concerns grew stronger over time as more migrants arrived, and culminated in clashes between the native and coloured immigrant population throughout the 1950s, most prominent of which were the riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958. Racism went hand in hand with prejudice and discrimination, especially in the areas of the labour market and housing, thereby creating a situation of *de facto* social and political exclusion of the migrants. Despite the growing need to be integrated, social relations other than racial relations (including integration of immigrants) were not on the political agenda in the 1950s (Solomos 1993: 18).

From the 1960s, and especially from the 1970s, race issues in Britain became ever more politicised. Black immigrants came to be openly seen as the 'problematic' group. As a response, an anti-racist activism was born. At its inception, *anti-racism* was a grass-roots, colour-based movement. Later, however, it was embraced at higher policymaking levels and emerged as a new mainstream policy. Anti-racism, as critiques pointed out, was schematic, primarily in the sense that it focused solely on a specific group, the politically constructed group of *Black*. Thus anti-racists excluded Whites from their concern, who it was argued abused their power by treating Blacks as inferior. Issues related to race began to be called *Race Relations*, a specific term used in the UK to describe the concept. To attempt to tackle the ever more hostile attitudes towards migrants in Britain, certain anti-discrimination measures were laid down in the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968 and later of 1976. These laws aimed at suppressing both direct and indirect discrimination based on colour/race and ethnic origin, with special regard to housing and labour market discrimination. However, in reality they acted as a collection of state commitments which were not fulfilled (Modood et al. 1997), as confirmed by the ensuing disturbances of the 1970s between on the one hand 'natives', and, on the other, Black and Asian youth. In his famous 'Rivers of Blood' speech (1968), Conservative MP Enoch Powell went as far as to advocate the return migration of immigrants as the only long-term solution to the race problem. However, in 1975 the White Paper on Racial Discrimination finally officially recognised that the majority of the coloured population would probably remain in Britain (Solomos 1993: 86).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the main theoretical approach in relation to inclusion of immigrants in the UK was assimilation. *Assimilation* could be summarised as a process by which migrants culturally, socially and politically adapt to the host country's mainstream society by surrendering their old allegiances to the country of origin, and at some point becoming an indistinguishable part of the native population of the host country. This meant in practice, that immigrants were required to become similar to what mainstream natives perceived themselves to be. Hence, immigrants were expected to assimilate in British society by interiorising 'British values' (a vague and problematic concept, as will be discussed later under Section 5.2.2 (iii) of this thesis), and speaking English as their main language. The aggressive assimilationist approach naturally left little space for acknowledgement of distinct features of both migrant groups and individual migrants.

Integration, in the 1950s and 1960s, was not a main political issue, and thus was not on the mainstream political agenda. As indicated above, until the mid-1970s, it was believed that

immigrants would remain in Britain only temporarily, and such belief shaped the (lack of) official integration discourse. Nevertheless, certain low-level integration measures would still be adopted in the 1960s. Advisory committees targeting Black migrants were set up, such as the Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council 1962 and the National Advisory Council for Commonwealth Immigrants in 1964. These initiatives were backed up by local voluntary networks and focused on specific, mainly education-related areas, for instance campaigning for the setting-up of special English language programmes for immigrants. However, these projects remained local-level programmes and lacked financial and other resources, and thus could not make a significant impact at a higher scale (Cantle 2005). Later, the Race Relations Acts attempted to connect immigration controls with integrative measures, but both their objectives and their consequences remained limited (Solomos 1993: 83-85). To summarise, within the framework of anti-discrimination and Race Relations, integration could not become a government-level policy. Although anti-racism as an ideology was important to raise awareness of the fundamentally unequal power relations within British society, the concept could not be equated with integration (Rutter 2006). The idea of integration, therefore, had still not emerged as a proposition to be seriously considered by mainstream politics. On the contrary, the issue of integration remained fairly marginal, 'with very little energy and resources behind it' (Cantle 2005).

(ii) Multiculturalism and Integration

From the 1980s, parallel to the Race Relations approach, a new policy line became prominent, that of multiculturalism. As Grillo (2010) pointed out, multiculturalism had already been present in Britain from the 1960s in a weaker form, with the acknowledgement of cultural diversity, but still promoting assimilation. The reason for its strengthening in the 1980s was mainly due to official recognition of the irreversible change in Britain's social make-up: coloured and other immigrants would stay, and they and their next generations would probably form ethnic minorities with distinct cultural differences from the native population. It was acknowledged that 'the melting pot does not melt', and that certain societal splits would keep on reproducing (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992: 158). As to the incorporation of immigrants, the assimilationist theory could not be maintained any more. Hence the rise of multiculturalism as a particularly powerful and overarching theoretical frame impacting inclusion of migrants.

Multiculturalism is multifaceted and difficult to pinpoint its essence. It can refer to a policy approach related to 'management of immigration-induced cultural heterogeneity'

(Koopmans 2010), or, as Vertovec and Wessendorf define it, ‘a broad set of mutually reinforcing approaches or methodologies concerning the incorporation and participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities and their modes of cultural and religious difference’ (2010: 4). This understanding is shared by many. For instance, Anthias and Yuval-Davis refer to multiculturalism as a social ideology where society is formulated from a

> hegemonic homogeneous majority and small unmeltable minorities with their own essentially different communities and cultures which have to be understood, accepted, and basically left alone – since their differences are compatible with the hegemonic culture – in order for the society to have harmonious relations (1992: 158).

Such approaches are based on acknowledgement of distinct and diverse cultural aspects of the immigrant population. Multiculturalism, nevertheless, can also be applied in discourses to highlight the increase of heterogeneity amongst the population as a consequence of immigration (Banting and Kymlicka 2006). Some refer to multiculturalism as a policy most visibly pursued in educational reform (Swann 1985). However, a very significant strand of literature considers multiculturalism as a politico-theoretical concept that is not primarily a culture-based one but fundamentally political (e.g. Parekh 2002, Modood 2007, Kymlicka 2010). Modood posits that multiculturalism is ‘the political accommodation of minorities formed by immigration’ (2007: 5), while Kymlicka contends that multiculturalism can establish new human-rights based forms of democratic citizenship, which could supersede previous exclusionist and hierarchical social relations (2010: 37). Multiculturalism has also been popularly linked to cultural diversity, driven by a ‘respect and celebration of different groups’ origins and cultural traditions’ (Finney and Simpson 2009: 76). However, from the end of the 1980s, especially following the Rushdie Affair (1989), the previous political discourse, which centred on ethnicity, culture and race, came to be complemented with religion.

Although multiculturalism could be strongly linked with recognition of the permanent presence of the immigrant population, integration had still not become a major political concern. The primary source of social tension in the 1980s was discrimination and disadvantage based on race and ethnicity, instead of cultural differences (Finney & Simpson 2009: 93). Integration was looked at as a process of adaptation that ideally included all members of society. It was thought that multiculturalism as a pervasive ideology offered a sufficiently tolerant and democratic environment for all migrants. Integration thus was not considered a question to be (separately) dealt with. However, from the end of the 1980s,

following the Rushdie Affair, questions about the integration of ethnic minority communities began to emerge in mainstream politics (Solomos 1993).

(iii) Social (Community) Cohesion

However, multiculturalism soon began to lose its heuristic value. It was challenged on many fronts by politicians, scholars (e.g. by Phizacklea 1983; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Gilroy 1987), or other prominent public figures, such as religious leaders. The main critique against multiculturalism was that it 'encourages people not to integrate, it creates social exclusion' (Bourne 2007: 2). However, other weaknesses were also underlined. For instance, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) maintained, multiculturalism assumed that society was built from homogeneous 'units of culture' (mainly defined alongside ethnic minority lines) with fixed and rigid boundaries, leaving no room for organic change. This way, multiculturalism failed to recognise dissimilarities within groups based on other social markers such as class, gender, language, age, etc. Furthermore, it overlooked the fact that membership in one group may not be exclusive, people can have multiple allegiances, mostly compatible with each other. Multiculturalism from that moment on began to be described in a simplified and depreciative way, as a

> feel-good celebration of ethno-cultural diversity, encouraging citizens to acknowledge and embrace the panoply of customs, traditions, music and cuisine that exist in a multi-ethnic society (Kymlicka 2010: 33).

Or as Alibhai Brown (2000) put it, multiculturalism could be reduced to '3S', namely saris, samosas, and steel drums. Despite a seemingly general rejection of the concept, there remained voices arguing for multiculturalism as a misunderstood concept which did not need total discarding (e.g. Bourne 2007; Modood 2007). Kymlicka (2010), for instance, claimed that simplified representations of the concept were a distortion, disregarding economic and political inequalities within society. Modood (2008), on the other hand, advocated that multiculturalism meant a need for a different type of citizenship that was not defined by nation state, and which considered the multiple allegiances of both new and already settled migrants, thus not 'take[ing] one group as a model to which all others have to conform' (p. 88).

On the mainstream political level, multiculturalism was attacked from very early on, from the 1980s, following a series of internal events, such as the publication of the Swann Report,

and the Honeyford and Rushdie Affairs. However, it was only in the new millennium, with certain events abroad (9/11 and the Madrid Bombing terror attacks) and at home (riots in the northern towns of Oldham and Bradford in 2001, and the 7/7 London Bombing in 2005) that multiculturalism began to be more harshly challenged. Multiculturalist policies were thought to be the cause of tensions in British society.

Instead of multiculturalism, another major policy framework emerged which could be linked to integration, that of 'community cohesion' or 'social inclusion' (however, in political rhetoric, especially from 2007 onwards, the notion of 'diversity' is used instead of multiculturalism, and the idea behind the use of 'diversity' is the acknowledgement of cultural difference as a characteristic not of a group but of individuals, see Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010: 18-19). *Community cohesion* brought spatial, geographical elements of integration to the fore, instead of focusing primarily on cultural or socio-economic aspects. In theory, cohesion was considered to be a two-way process whereby both native and immigrant population needed to interact and 'come closer' at the level of locality, irrespective of their ethnic background, legal status, etc. It advocated for cohesive communities or neighbourhoods as pillars of a more homogeneous British society. The concept of community cohesion, a peculiar British form of social cohesion, began to be more widely used following the publication of the Ouseley and Cantle Reports (2001). These documents investigated the causes of the disturbances and riots in the northern British towns of Bradford and Oldham ('northern riots'), and blamed ethnic minority communities for the problems. The disturbances were imputed to the 'segregationist', 'self-segregationist', 'isolationist' behaviour of South Asian communities, mainly Muslims, accused of living 'parallel lives' in their workplaces, educational institutions and residential and social areas. Segregation was thus thought to be the main cause of the conflicts, instead of according greater importance to people's precarious socio-economic conditions. It is interesting that these documents were the first major government commissioned papers where religion was identified as a noteworthy factor causing difficulties in integrating.

Community cohesion challenged multiculturalism on many fronts. Firstly, as already discussed, multiculturalism was thought to lead to segregation of ethnic minorities (Bourne 2007; Parekh 2008; as Trevor Phillips, the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, famously reminded British policy makers in 2005, 'we are sleepwalking our way towards segregation'). Secondly, community cohesion advocated the necessity to have shared, common values. Although these values were not defined, equality, democracy and freedom of speech were among those widely accepted in Britain, which nevertheless were thought not

to be compatible with the traditions and rules of certain ethnic minorities, especially of Muslim background. Mulvey (2010) noted that the lack of definition of the values to be adhered to caused uncertainty among immigrants and members of ethnic minorities, who were not certain about how to comply. Furthermore, those who did not embrace mainstream British values were viewed as a menace to social stability and thus community cohesion (Solomos 1993: 32). Integration discourses became tinted with religious undertones, as Muslims began to be perceived as a threat, as 'potential or actual "enemy within"' (Castles 2011: 25). Also, there was a growing fear that Muslims were not capable of integration into British society. As Modood put it,

> [T]here has been widespread questioning whether Muslims can be and are willing to be integrated into European society and its political values… whether Muslims are committed to what are taken to be the core European values of freedom, tolerance, democracy, sexual equality and secularism (2003: 101).

Thirdly, multiculturalism was seen as a concept focusing solely on the cultural heritage of minorities and thus refusing to acknowledge the deep-rooted social and economic problems ethnic minorities often faced.

But are communities and neighbourhoods really cohesive, or is cohesion only a utopian illusion? Communities were believed to exist naturally, as if they were a certain kind of wholeness within society. Such simplified perception of the construction of societies, similar to assumptions around ethnic minorities, did not allow for the notion to be de- and reconstructed, and was therefore soon contested both ideologically and materially (Yuval-Davis 1991). Weaknesses of the community cohesion framework, from an integration point of view, were soon identified. For instance, Griffiths et al. (2005) posited that it was unfortunate to subsume integration under the notion of community cohesion, as the two concepts refer to two distinct social processes, where integration happens between immigrants and the country of residence, while social cohesion focuses on the locality regardless of the inhabitants' migration status. However, as Ager and Strang (2008) pointed out, 'both the "race relations" and "social inclusion/exclusion" discourses addressed the polarisation of society into distinct, though not necessarily cohesive, groups' (p. 180). Zetter et al. (2006) on the other hand perceived a different background narrative to political discourses on community cohesion; they argued, a covert assimilationist approach was noticeable under the idealistic portrayal of a sought-after cohesive society.

From the end of the 2000s, the Conservative Party began applying the concept of the Big Society as its social cohesion-related approach (Jones 2011). The vision itself cannot be seen

as a proper integration concept. Nevertheless, it highlighted the importance of the local level in social cohesion issues, and promoted increased participation of community actors to advance community cohesion. The idea, however, remained an abstraction due to lack of adequate funding and strategy for implementation (Collett and Petrovic 2014: 13).

2.2.3 Overview of UK Integration Policies and Definitions

This part of the thesis reviews the central government's activity in integration matters. Firstly, it will examine UK integration policies targeting refugees, an area where central government showed significant activity. Secondly, (the lack of) integration policies designed for the whole group of immigrants will be studied. In doing so, shifting integration definitions found in related high level policy documents and reports will also be examined.

(i) Integration-Related Documents Targeting Refugees

Early integration policies in the UK focused mainly on refugees, a small and geographically more restricted fraction of the total immigrant population. Thereby integration of migrants, as a whole, was not given adequate attention. The '*UK Refugee Council Working Paper'* (1997) defined integration as

> a process, which prevents or counteracts the social marginalisation of refugees, by removing legal, cultural and language obstacles and ensuring that refugees are empowered to make positive decisions on their future and benefit fully from available opportunities as per their abilities and aspirations. (Ager and Strang 2004: 14)

This definition recognises refugees' vulnerable position in a new country and suggests that the obligation to act so as to enhance refugee integration rests mainly with the state. As seen from later papers, this is not the standard way to define integration at the policy-making level; however, the nature of the group to be integrated (i.e. refugees) could justify such a positive state approach. The Working Paper was soon followed by a mainstream refugee integration strategy called '*Full and Equal Citizens'*, published in 2000, which stated,

> [the] aims of the integration strategy [are]:
- to include refugees as equal members of society,
- to help refugees develop their potential and contribute to the cultural and economic life of the country,
- to set out a clear framework to support the integration process across the United Kingdom,

- to facilitate access to the support necessary for the integration of refugees nationally and regionally. (p. 2)

As the strategy's title suggests, the Government's aim is to ensure that refugees become 'full and equal' citizens of the UK. All such aims appear to be the subject of actions to be taken by the host society, and accordingly refugees' responsibilities in integration have not been laid down. The document reflects a rather permissive, positive attitude to integration by formulating action requirements primarily for the state, thereby recognising refugees' weaker agency position. As we will see, such an approach is in contrast with more recent, angled viewpoints on integration that stress the need for incomers to take positive action, whilst obscuring the precise role of the state in such process. To back up the Government's refugee integration initiative, an active integration framework, both nationally and locally, was launched focusing on main areas such as accommodation, education and training, employment, access to healthcare and community development. Sadly, the document remains vague; it fails to detail the level and type of activities that refugees were expected to carry out in order to integrate. Nevertheless, it suggests that the rate of integration can be measured by a high level of structural integration, typically in the labour market (Ager and Strang 2008).

Later, in 2005, the refugee integration strategy was reworked, following which a new policy document was made public under the name *'Integration Matters'*, complemented by the paper *'Moving on Together: Government's Recommitment to Supporting Refugees'*. According to this strategy,

> integration takes place when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society; contribute to the community; and access the services to which they are entitled (Home Office 2005: 15).

Compared to the previous refugee integration definition, the above policy document focused more on how refugees could achieve integration in a way desired by the state, i.e. by contributing to the society, by acting in a way to achieve their full potential, at the same time remaining silent about how the state envisages empowering refugees to do so. The strategy's integration definition was slightly fine-tuned by way of a consultation paper in 2006, '*A New Model for National Refugee Integration Services in England: A Consultation Paper'*, as follows:

> By ‘integration’ we mean the process that takes place when refugees are empowered to achieve their full potential as members of British society, to contribute to the community, to access public services, and to become fully able to exercise the rights and responsibilities that they share with other residents of the UK.

Such a definition clearly lays down that residing in the UK entails responsibilities as well as rights. At the same time, obligations falling on the state, such as empowering refugees, sound convincing but remain soft and general. It is not clear what the role of the state is to enhance integration.

Even though the document called ‘*London Enriched’* (2009) was not a government-level but a local refugee integration policy, it still is interesting to consider, due mainly to the importance of London within the UK as a major immigrant hub, and also because most of the participants in this research reside in the Greater London area. Even though the policy targets refugees only, it explicitly aims to expand its scope to cover all immigrants living in London. It contains the following definition of integration:

> Integration takes place in all aspects of life: economic, social, cultural, civic and political. The process may continue for a long time after arrival, and must be a two-way street, built on positive engagement by both refugees and the settled communities (p. 1).

The core areas where integration was assessed were described as ‘English language, housing, employment, skills and enterprise, health, community safety, children and young people, community development and participation’ (p. 4-5; see also Gidley & Jayaweera 2010). Although most of these played out at the local level, refugee agency alone is not sufficient for their implementation. The definition recognises that integration has diverse sites, it encompasses ‘all aspects of life’, and is a process done over a long period of time. The document clearly focuses on an active approach to integration by migrants and refugees. At one point it invokes engagement between incomers and the settled population, thereby echoing ideas of social cohesion. The role of either the municipality or the state in enabling integration is not discussed at all. The formulation of such a definition of integration projects the image of expectation of self-responsibility and active agency on the refugees and migrants’ side, whilst the municipality seems to remain relatively passive in this equation. The suggested positive engagement by refugees and settled communities is an idea that is welcomed. Yet, the duties of the settled population in this respect have not been elaborated, which renders the ‘two-way street’ idea hollow.

An integration-related document came out in the same year of 2009. The UK Border Agency, by way of its *Survey on New Refugees*, aimed at investigating integration in the UK of recently arrived refugees. Findings of the survey were published in a research report called '*Helping new refugees integrate into the UK: baseline data analysis from the Survey of New Refugees'* (2009). Although the survey focused only on new refugees, which is an even tinier group than the entire refugee population, its importance lies primarily in its approaching integration from the perspective of the refugees. A similar research report from 2010, '*Spotlight on refugee integration: findings from the Survey of New Refugees in the United Kingdom',* which was based on the previous survey, set forth three 'key indicators of refugee integration', i.e. housing, employment and English language skills. Also, the document showcased a range of factors that could be closely linked to refugee integration in the said three areas, and thus shaped their pattern of integration. These factors were country of origin, time spent in the UK, English language skills, age, sex, health, previous education and employment, and family and friends. Acknowledgement of the formative effects of such factors on integration meant recognition of various paths and outcomes of integration that needed to be taken into account when designing integration policy.

(ii) Integration-Related Documents Targeting Immigrants as a Whole Group

In 2000, a very influential and often cited report was published, the so-called *Parekh Report.* The report described an ideal society into which migrants were expected to integrate. Britain was put forward as a 'community of communities' (p. 10), composed of different ethnic groups with different values, customs, and traditions. It was grounded in two chief theoretical approaches: liberalism, emphasising rights and freedoms of individuals, and multiculturalism (in a politico-theoretical sense), arguing for the same but in the case of groups. Parekh saw the political community as the foundation of a sense of belonging, instead of the widely repeated 'shared cultural, ethnic and other characteristics' (p. 341). In doing so, his approach turned its back on those voices on multiculturalism that highlighted ethnic communities and cultural differences as primary markers of a multicultural society. Although it was innovative and interesting, the report was critiqued chiefly on grounds of its idealism, that fails to fully consider everyday British realities. The notion 'community of communities' suggests Britain is composed of a series of close-knit, homogeneous and long-standing communities, each with a long common past. Even though groups of people often form communities and thus build solidarity based on belief in a common ethnic heritage,

many have challenged his simplistic and rigid concept of society as unrealistic (see Yuval-Davis 1991; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992).

Use of the term 'community(ies)' as the foundation of British society became widespread in mainstream political discourses, especially following the emergence of the *Cantle Report* in 2001. The report came out following certain major international and internal events, which acted as a trigger to reshape (or rather to harden) official attitudes towards immigration and integration in the UK. Multiculturalist policies were openly discarded, and securitisation as a line of action impregnated immigration-related state actions. In such socio-political circumstances, the document still followed an implicit multiculturalist agenda by attempting 'to examine and consider how national policies might be used to promote better community cohesion, based upon shared values and a celebration of diversity' (foreword). The document delved into *community cohesion*, which was to materialise as 'situations in which individuals are bound to one another by common social and cultural commitments' (p. 70). However, blurring the boundaries of community cohesion and integration was regrettable, as they do not refer to the same social action (Griffiths et al. 2005; Rutter 2013).

In 2002 the first mainstream policy tackling integration of immigrants as a whole group emerged in the form of a White Paper. Its title, '*Secure Borders, Safe Haven'* immediately signalled a change in main priorities of policy makers; securitisation and safety became core lines of action for immigration control. Integration, thus, became secondary. The document argued for tougher border controls, attempting to combat illegal immigration ever more strongly, and to manage immigration by letting in only the highly skilled/educated, i.e. the 'deserving' (Sales 2005: 459). Aims not directly related to securitisation revolved around citizenship and nationality, thereby deepening the cleavage between the *us* and *them*. The subtitle of the document, 'Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain', suggested elaborate integration measures. In reality, immigration control measures abounded, to the detriment of integration-related actions. In the preface, integration (although not defined there as such) was described as a 'two-way street' with liabilities and obligations on both host society and migrants. In line with this, the host society would ensure that basic human rights were upheld, and racism and animosity towards migrants were duly dealt with. In return, migrants would have to contribute actively to their smooth integration and inclusion into society. The concept of integration within the document was limited firstly to the wish to build cohesive communities where social integration was meant to happen (p. 28: 1.25), subsuming integration once again under the concept of social cohesion, which as already discussed

meant something else. Secondly, integration was equated with British citizenship and attached rights and responsibilities, supposed inherently to lead to a feeling of inclusion in society (p. 29: 2.1), which is widely accepted to be false. Finally, the document acknowledged the positive economic contribution of migrants in the UK, which was a major progress from previous governmental attitudes to immigration (Sales 2005). The depicted attitude towards integration is visibly very different from the one defined a year earlier, in 2001, in the refugee integration strategy '*Full and Equal Citizens'*. Integration was seen as a set of obligations that entirely rest with the migrants and are fulfilled at the local level, that of the communities, so that no central governmental policy making in the area was pressing. The document seemingly established only one obligation for the state, which was to deal with racism and xenophobia, however without specifying how this should be achieved. Furthermore, by focusing on securitisation and border control, the document failed to consider the already settled migrants and subsequent generations of migrants (that often formed ethnic minorities). Altogether, as Sales (2005) put it, the document was in contrast with the overarching values of human rights and democracy that are core elements of Britishness.

In 2007 the Commission on Integration and Cohesion's report '*Our Shared Future*' suggested a distinction between the by then widely used notion of cohesion and that of integration. According to the document,

> … *cohesion* is principally the process that must happen in all communities to ensure different groups of people get on well together; while *integration* is principally the process that ensures new residents and existing residents adapt to one another. (p. 9)

Also, the paper provides a definition of an *integrated and cohesive community,* thus amalgamating the two concepts:

- There is a clearly defined and widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region or country;
- There is a strong sense of an individual's rights and responsibilities when living in a particular place – people know what everyone expects of them, and what they can expect in turn;
- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment;

- There is a strong sense of trust in institutions locally to act fairly in arbitrating between different interests and for their role and justifications to be subject to public scrutiny;
- There is a strong recognition of the contribution of both those who have newly arrived and those who already have deep attachments to a particular place, with a focus on what they have in common;
- There are strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhoods. (p. 42)

Integration and cohesion are thus consistently used in the paper as 'two tightly interlocking concepts' (p. 37), without real attempt to disconnect the two distinct notions. This eventually led to peculiar understandings of integration, echoed in policy discourses. Also, the 'integrated and cohesive community' definition seems to be asymmetrical, with agency implicitly required from the migrants, and lack of assignment of specific roles to achieve such for the state or municipalities. Integration again seems to be short of the ideal of the 'two-way process'. Although harmony between migrants and settled communities is seen as desirable, it is not specified how such harmony is envisaged, and what the role of the settled or native community is, if any. Not to mention that it is not clear whether such communities indeed want to contribute actively to cohesion building and integration of migrants. By positioning local sites such as schools, workplace, sports, culture and leisure, and shared public spaces and residential areas as the focal point of the level of action, integration is relegated to local politics instead of being dealt with at central government level. Thus, integration remains outside the mainstream political agenda (Rutter 2013), despite explicit acknowledgement of the need for a higher-level, national integration framework. By expressing that integration and cohesion should not be 'a special programme or project' any more as 'it is [also] not about race, faith or other forms of group status or identity. It is simply about how we all get on and secure benefits that are mutually desirable for our communities and ourselves' (p. 6), a desire to mainstream integration is conspicuous. In this respect, integration policy would be incorporated in other, general, mainstream policies targeting the population as a whole, instead of specifically addressing immigrants. A positive aspect of the document, however, as noted by Kalra and Kapoor (2009), is that instead of stressing common values as binding social factors, as accentuated in policy discourses following the Cantle Report, it proposes a shift towards co-existence.

A year later, in 2008, the *Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration*, a public body advising the Government on issues related to citizenship and integration, developed an integration definition in its *Final Report*, which runs as follows:

> It has long been accepted that integration is a two-way process and that one key component of it is participation in public, economic or social life, which brings interaction between different ethnic and linguistic groups with the receiving community. The aim of the current naturalisation requirements was to promote the learning of language skills to encourage migrants to become socially and economically active and thereby foster in them a sense of belonging to a wider community (p. 22).

This definition reflects the Government's new approach to integration, focused on 'civic integration' (Joppke 2003, 2004). Such a perspective links English language and civic knowledge to naturalisation, this latter being a legal status of the immigrants, instead of reflecting on the long process of socio-economic integration of migrants. One cannot deny that knowledge of English language can significantly enhance participation in everyday life in the UK. However, it is unfortunate to conflate integration as a process with civic measures focused on language knowledge, the requirement to be economically active, and external border control (e.g. Boujour and Kraler 2015) regulating admission of potential migrants (Grillo 2008; Wray 2011). It is also widely held that civic and language knowledge requirements do not improve integration of the already settled migrants; on the contrary, they contribute to creating social division by accentuating the imagined homogeneity of the native populace (Schmidt 2011).

By way of a more recent central policy related to integration, published in 2012 under the title '*Creating the Conditions for Integration'* (DCLG), the Government purports to create a 'more integrated society' (APPG Report 2017: 8). Integration in this document equals 'creating the conditions for everyone to play a full part in national and local life.' Integration is considered a 'local issue' (p. 9), coming 'from everyday life', 'through day-to-day activities' (p. 10). By accentuating such sites, development of specific integration policies is once more delegated to the level of municipalities. In doing so, there is not only no commitment to centrally develop a national integration policy for all immigrants, but the approach also absolves the Government from responsibility in the issue of integration (APPG Report 2017).

Following that, no specific, non-mainstream integration policy could be identified. Nevertheless, integration as an issue of ever growing importance keeps appearing on the political agenda, albeit in a limited manner. In 2016, the widely publicised '*Casey Review – A Review into Opportunity and Integration*' unearthed 'uncomfortable truths' (The

Huffington Post 2016) about 'failed' integration of some ethnic migrant communities, mainly of Muslim background, and posited there was a lack of government will to design integration policies. The report described integration in terms of 'how well we get on with each other' and 'how well we all do compared to each other' (p. 5), and mainly saw integration in relation to cohesion of communities. A most recent study, the *APPG Interim Report on Social Integration* (2017), defined integration from the perspective of values to be adhered to, i.e. as 'the extent to which people conform to shared norms and values and lead shared lives' (p. 7).

(iii) Conclusion

To conclude, from the 1990s, the issue of integration was given significantly more attention in many European countries, including the EU itself. As Penninx (2005) observed, immigration policies of the major European countries in the last decades have become increasingly 'ad hoc, reactive and control-oriented', as they stemmed from 'basic non-acceptance of immigration' (p. 138). Despite the issue becoming significant at many levels, official British discourses have not given significant attention to integration as a specific issue to be dealt with (Rutter 2013). Instead, integration discourses in the UK have been swallowed by other discourses (Rutter 2013).

It appears there are no specific integration policies currently in place in the UK, except those targeting refugees (Collett and Petrovic 2014: 10). Such absence of UK integration policy *per se* (APPG Report 2017), in addition to the strong cuts in funding, can to a great extent be linked to the historical circumstances of post-colonialism. As a significant number of immigrants entering the UK from the 1950s already possessed British citizenship or were otherwise subject to the Crown (Clayton 2014), the main focus was not on *immigrants* but rather on *ethnic minorities* and social currents impacting on integration of these persons, such as *race relations*, *anti-discrimination*, and later *social cohesion*, irrespective of immigrants' legal statuses (Collett and Petrovic 2014). Integration policies became mainstream and thus form part of social policies that are applicable to society as a whole, and not just to immigrants (Collett and Petrovic 2014). For instance, there exist some mainstream policy programmes that encompass the area of integration, such as the Equality Strategy and the Social Mobility Strategy. Tackling integration in a mainstreamed manner can be substantiated in a society that is becoming increasingly heterogeneous, and where the boundaries of previously prevailing dichotomies such as natives – non-natives become ever more fluid. By developing mainstreamed social policies addressing issues that can be

applicable to the wider population, no single immigrant or ethnic minority community is singled out or prioritised. Also, subsequent-generation migrants may have distinctly other needs to first-generation migrants and may require 'a more generalised approach' regarding the population of migrant origins, which could also substantiate adoption of more mainstreamed policies (Collett and Petrovic 2014: 4-6). However, even if mainstreamed, the All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration states, the 'current integration policy is fragmented, ad-hoc, and lacking in coordination due to the lack of an integrated strategy across government departments' (2017: 8), rendering efficient dealing with integration at a central level complicated. Further, as Collett and Petrovic point out, maintaining an integration approach based on ethnic minority lines will be difficult, especially in the light of the latest wave of migrants that arrived from Central Europe, and who basically 'share ethnicity with the majority population' (2014: 10-11). But would there be a political will, called for in the Casey Review (2016), to design and implement interventions regarding people of immigrant background? In particular, following Brexit, possible outcomes of disentanglement from the EU in relation to integration matters are still uncertain.

Another trend can also be perceived. The issue of integration is, and is explicitly expected to be, attended to at the local level, by local authorities (Kofman et al. 2012). It is not difficult to recognise the rationale behind devolving integration from central to local level, as many aspects of everyday life happen in social and geographical locations that are closest to the migrants. Nevertheless, Joppke (2013) reminds us, the need for a national integration strategy should not be downplayed. Integration is impacted, to a large extent, by social structures such as labour market barriers and discriminatory educational systems, that can be dealt with primarily at national level as opposed to locally. Numerous studies show that the agency of migrants is in many cases not sufficient for successful integration in the host country. Also, shifting the arena of integration actions from public to private and voluntary sectors, as the 2012 policy suggests, could jeopardise integration through possible shortage of funding.

Especially since the Ouseley and Cantle Reports, it is difficult to perceive integration in practice as a *two-way process*. Even though official and mainstream discourses regularly emphasise its two-way nature, it is a widely-held view that the onus of integration rests primarily with migrants and ethnic minorities (Finney and Simpson 2009: 95). A recent government-commissioned review on community cohesion, *The Casey Review – A Review into Opportunity and Integration* (2016) attracted harsh critiques about its observations on the 'failed' integration of certain ethnic migrants, primarily Muslims, who in certain areas of

the UK became increasingly separate from wider society (e.g. *Guardian* 2016a, 2016b). Interestingly, the Review accused the central government of lacking political will to tackle the issue:

> [T]he problem has not been a lack of knowledge but a failure of collective, consistent and persistent will to do something about it [integration] or give it the priority it deserves at both a national and local level (p. 148).

Backed by findings of the report, its author claimed integration was not a two-way street but rested with 'people coming in from the outside' (Parliament 2017). An even more recent high-level document was prepared by a cross-party group of members of both Houses of Commons and Lords inquiring into social integration in the UK. The *APPG Interim Report on Social Integration* (2017), which was explicitly meant to function as a 'set of general principles' (p. 7) instead of integration policies, highlighted the need for the implementation of a stronger two-way approach to integration. By declaring that the 'government should recognise that integration is a two-way street, requiring the involvement of both newcomers and host communities' (p. 7), it implicitly alludes to the failure to acknowledge the premise at the highest political level.

Government level refugee integration policies, nevertheless, exist in Britain, but mainly targeted at those who arrive through refugee settlement programmes. Based on numerous studies involving refugees, they contain detailed suggestions as to where and how integration should be achieved. The explicit aim of these policies is for refugees to become full members of their new society. Refugees, however, are a very specific, highly vulnerable group within the migrant population, constituting only a fraction of all immigrants, who can have different needs emanating from their personal histories.

2.2.4. EU Action in the Area of Integration

Although the EU has no power to enact laws in the area of integration that would either be directly applicable or transposable in the Member States, its recommendations, soft laws and terminologies and their applications (e.g. social inclusion) inform integration policies and thus legislation of the Member States, including Britain. Also, through the funding of certain integration related projects, directly or indirectly, EU actions constitute a significant integration framework. Hence the need for a short review of EU integration rules.

In the 1990s, the issue of integration emerged at a supranational level, in the legislation and policy making of the EU. Through European Council meetings, the leaders of the Member States agreed to have a more directed focus on the integration of immigrants within the field of immigration policies. Although the concept had already emerged in primary EU legislation, with the entry into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999, the word 'integration' was not yet used at that time. Article 13 of the Treaty allowed the Council to adopt measures to combat discrimination based among other things on racial or ethnic origins and religion, which were related, although indirectly, to the integration of migrants. The same Treaty (Art. 73k) explicitly requested the Council to act in immigration-related issues by adopting measures in areas including the conditions of entry and residence of legally residing third-country national migrants. The next step on the road towards an EU-level integration policy was the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009, the first primary EU legislation establishing a legal ground for the promotion of EU level integration (Art. 79.4). In the same year, the Charter of Fundamental Rights also became effective. Many of the rights listed in the charter are also applicable to immigrants and are related to certain aspects of their integration (e.g. the right to property). The use of the charter is restricted, however, as it can be used only in cases when Member States apply EU law. In that same year, at the Stockholm European Council (2009), the leaders of the Member States expressed their wish that

> Member States' integration policies [should] be supported through the further development of structures and tools for knowledge exchange and coordination with other relevant policy areas, such as employment, education and social inclusion (The Stockholm Programme).

Some of the EU documents attempted to introduce a definition of integration. In the Common Basic Principles (CBP) for Immigrant Integration Policy, adopted in 2004, integration was defined by way of identifying a set of characteristics of what could be the constituents of integration. The document lays down that integration is a two-way process between the migrants and the host country's communities, and both migrants and Member States need to comply with certain integration requirements. However, the level of commitments on the two sides seems to differ: more specific and stricter requirements are set for immigrants. The main integration criteria for them are 'respect for the basic values of the European Union' (cultural integration), participation in the labour market (a form of structural integration), 'basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions' (civic integration), and pursuing education in the aim to become 'successful and active participants in society'. Compliance with these combined criteria, however, takes time

to achieve and requires significant effort from the migrants. Such requirements do not seem to be in parity with the more generally defined integration conditions set for the Member States (e.g. guarantee of the 'practice of diverse cultures and religions', 'participation of immigrants in the democratic process', etc.). Also, compliance with such softer requirements is difficult to evidence. The CBP is also one of the earliest policy documents drawing attention to the need to develop mainstream policies instead of ones specifically targeting migrants (Collett and Petrovic 2014: 3). Such an attempt to mainstream integration was restated in a year later in the Common Agenda for Integration (2005), and has also been expanded on in the European Commission's *Handbook on Integration for Policy-makers and Practitioners* (second edition) (Collett and Petrovic 2014: 4).

Integration conditions described in the CBP were reviewed in 2011 in the 'European Agenda for the Integration of Non-EU Migrants' (COM/2011/0455), following explicit admission that 'not all integration measures have been successful in meeting their objectives'. A new approach to integration was defined by the policy, which would shift its focus from higher levels to target local levels, i.e. those closest to migrants. In line with the re-establishment of the primary emphasis of the integration policy, the content of integration had also changed. It expanded to less tangible but equally important areas of integration, as well. The requirement of economic and political participation in the country of residence was complemented by the need to become more incorporated both socially and culturally. The document acknowledged the importance of the 'will and commitment of migrants to be part of the society that receives them'. The agency of migrants as a chief element in integration had not been recognised before. The paper's positive and constructive tone is refreshing in the mass of policy documents enumerating integration obligations falling on migrants. Also, interestingly, the paper attributes an increasingly significant role in host country integration to home countries, inasmuch as it proposes to investigate their involvement in the integration process and possibly in return migration. The recognition that integration is also a gendered concept is seen from the 'Commission Staff Working Paper – EU initiatives supporting the integration of third country nationals' (SEC (2011) 957 final), accompanying the same Agenda. The document argues for the need for special measures to enhance integration of migrant women, a category considered 'with special needs'. This gender-sensitive perspective is a major step in the integration policies. It makes women visible in the integration process, though by emphasising their assumed vulnerability, which may not always be the case.

The latest EU level legislation on integration emphasised the need to achieve more successful integration by way of more effective inclusion of migrants in the labour market, by raising their education level and promoting social inclusion ('Europe 2020', the EU growth strategy policy). Thus, non-Treaty level EU documents have addressed the issue of integration by recognising chief structural fields of integration, such as labour market, education and social inclusion. Also, certain markers of integration of migrants, known as 'Zaragoza indicators', have been identified to help to examine integration policies in areas such as social inclusion, labour market inclusion, education, and active citizenship (OECD/EU 2015).

To summarise, it can be discerned that a genuine concern with integration gradually increased in a European context by incorporating the idea of integration in primary EU legislation, and by elaborating on it in lower level EU laws. The impact of these efforts on policy making of the different Member States varies, as it is a question of national political choice to determine the extent of applicability of non-binding supranational rules. However, EU funds linked to compliance with certain EU projects (such as the already mentioned EAVES project that has been funded by EU monies) could have acted as an impetus for the incorporation of integration rules into national politics and policies. Nevertheless, in the light of Britain's decision on Brexit (2016), such a process of convergence would very likely come to a halt.

2.2.5 Theoretical Approaches to Integration

This section gives a concise overview of the main theoretical approaches to the concept of integration, found in the joint literature strand of migration and integration.

There is no general, overarching definition of integration. As Castles et al. put it, 'there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration' (2001: 12). Many attempts have been made to create one, which are strongly based on the perspectives from which the concept is looked at. Similarly, the notion is heavily contextualised, primarily socially, politically, culturally, and historically. It is a slippery idea, often conflated with other concepts, such as assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, incorporation, inclusion, insertion, settlement, denizenship, citizenship and the Race Relations approach, as Ager and Strang (2004: 32-35) pointed out based on Castles et al.'s (2001) glossary. These terms in many cases do not mirror the same forms of immigrant

incorporation; however, in others they can be used as synonyms of integration.

Integration is a concept understood and explicated by numerous scholars as a form of incorporation. In the various cases, different elements of the concept have been nevertheless accorded more importance, in an attempt to capture its true meaning. The way scholars approach the issue of integration is deeply informed by their epistemological stances. Therefore, it is essential to study briefly the main theoretical frameworks around integration. Integration definitions are often distinguished based on their content. Rutter (2013) differentiates rights-based, participation-based and outcome-based interpretations of integration. The rights-based interpretation underlines the possibility to acquire cultural, social and possibly political rights in the country of residence (Nussbaum 2000). The participation-based approach, on the other hand, stresses the importance of active participation in social structures of society as markers of integration, e.g. in the labour market. Finally, the outcome-based viewpoint gauges the 'end products', the results of integration, propounded to be measured with the use of certain markers (Zetter et al. 2002; Ager and Strang 2004).

According to a seminal piece on integration by Alba and Nee (1997), there are three major theoretical approaches exploring incorporation of migrants in the host society: assimilationist, multiculturalist and structuralist approaches. The *assimilationist* framework was born in the US nearly a century ago and continued to be a paramount, highly influential integration theory (e.g. Park and Burgess 1921; Park 1930; Gordon 1964; Gans 1973; Sandberg 1973; Massey 1985; Gans 1992; Alba and Nee 1997). Many tried to pinpoint the essence of the concept of 'assimilation', with apparently certain elements in common, such as the assumption that assimilation will sooner or later happen, and secondly, that the onus is on the migrants to assimilate, meaning to become similar to the mainstream majority natives, in particular culturally. Assimilation is viewed as the harshest form of incorporation in a new society, as it requires total acceptance and interiorisation of mainstream values by migrants, while discarding their 'original' values is encouraged. Many critique the assimilationist approach on a number of fronts. For instance, assimilationist theory looks at society from the viewpoint of the majority population. Also, it fails to take into account the power imbalance between majority and minority groups in society, to the detriment of the latter (e.g. Gordon 1976). It also skims over the fact that neither majority, nor minority groups can be considered as homogeneous groups (Hein 1995, in Ehrkamp 2005), which makes determining those values that are to be incorporated challenging. Further, no reassuring answers were given as to why migrant communities keep or establish plural, especially

cultural identities and affiliations (Glazer and Moynihan 1976) despite the continuous efforts to make them assimilate, or even to the questions of why and how they should position themselves in transnational social sites (Faist 2000; Glick Schiller et al. 1992 in Alba and Nee 1997), or to what extent and how transnationalism might affect assimilation (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Snel et al. 2006; Erdal and Oeppen 2013).

In the wider literature on the sociology of integration - or assimilation (to use it in an oversimplified way to refer to the US context) - *acculturation* inhabited an important place from very early on as part of assimilation theories. Park's classical assimilation theory (1914), which became the dominant middle-range theory on immigrant incorporation for the next half century, viewed acculturation as the first stage of the process leading towards assimilation. Through acculturation one would embrace core values, norms and beliefs of the host society, which process would happen spontaneously (Kivisto 2005). Gordon (1964) complemented this theory along the same lines by distinguishing seven, not inevitably sequential steps to assimilation. These were (1) cultural or behavioural (meaning acculturation), (2) structural, (3) marital, (4) identificational (meaning identification with the new culture and letting go of the old one), (5) attitude receptional (meaning lack of prejudice from the host society), (6) behavioural receptional (meaning lack of discrimination from the host society), and finally (7) civic assimilation (meaning acquisition of citizenship). He theorised that cultural or behavioural assimilation (including language knowledge), which could be understood as acculturation, would normally occur first. Yet, he perceived structural assimilation as the most decisive one, which in turn could eventually enable other steps of assimilation to happen (1964: 81). Later, scholars critiqued these linear, so-called 'straight-line' incorporation theories (Portes 1995; Gans 1992) primarily for contextual reasons, for instance, as they were applied in terms of White immigrants' incorporation in the US (Gans 1992). Also, theories hypothesising that there is an inevitable path that leads to assimilation, or total dissolution in the mainstream, were thought to be irreconcilable with multiculturalism. Kivisto (2005: 9-10), however, asserted that the postulations of the classical assimilation theory, and especially Park's views, were largely misunderstood. According to him, Park saw assimilation, and cultural pluralism and multiculturalism not as mutually exclusive concepts. Instead, assimilation could be conceptualised as 'a product of interaction and thus had reciprocal character' and thus would not underpin the 'straight-line' assimilationist idea of a melting pot America.

Classical assimilation theory was later challenged on many fronts. New conceptual frameworks emerged: for instance, the so-called bumpy line approach of Gans (1992); Portes

and Zhou's (1993) segmented assimilation theory, which contained a selective acculturation aspect; Barkan's (1995) six-step assimilation approach focusing on ethnic minority incorporation in the US, where the first three steps could be linked to acculturation; and also Alba and Nee's (2003) very influential new assimilation theory. In general, scholars argued that host societies have become much more heterogeneous; the mainstream, which was more easily definable in an early 20th century US context, became significantly more diverse and fragmented in many ways, including ethnically and racially. Thus, the concept of assimilation as applied by classical assimilation theorists could not be tenable. Certain markers, such as class and gender, should be looked at more closely (Vecoli 1995), and a balance between considering individual and group experiences should also be struck (Alba 1995). Nevertheless, assimilation still remains a very powerful concept, at least in the US context, with the acknowledgement that it is not unavoidable (see Glazer 1993; Morawska 1994; Kivisto 2005).

Although in the literature on immigration, acculturation was mainly seen as a desirable and often inevitable step to immigrant incorporation in a host country, the concept gained more prominence and became a primary interest within the field of cross-cultural psychology, especially since the 1980s. Whilst there is a large amount of research focusing on acculturation over several generations of immigrants (e.g. Alba 1990; Der-Karabetian and Ruiz 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Rumbaut 1994), studies spotlighting first generation immigrants are significantly more scarce (e.g. Garcia-Coll and Magnuson 1997; Prilleltensky 1993), and studies dovetailing gender and acculturation are even more scant (see, for instance, Liebkind 1996). Acculturation materialises as the outcome of contact between groups having distinct cultural features (Berry 1980), such as host society and immigrants. These intercultural contacts between populations give rise to both cultural and psychological changes at the level of the individual. 'At the cultural level, collective activities and social institutions become altered, and at the psychological level, there are changes in an individual's daily behavioural repertoire and sometimes in experienced stress' (Sam and Berry 2010: 472). Rogler (1994: 706) viewed such changes as occurring mainly in a unidirectional way, in the immigrants' cultural values, beliefs, behaviours, language, and eventually cultural identity moving towards those of the host society. Berry (1980) devised a widely applied fourfold model of individual acculturation strategy based on the degree to which individuals would wish to maintain cultural affiliation with the home society, at the same time as striving to forge links with the host culture. These different approaches ranged from (1) assimilation (establishing links with host culture but severing relationship with home culture), (2) integration (establishing links with host culture, at the same time

maintaining relationship with home culture), (3) separation (not establishing links with host culture but maintaining relationship with home culture), to (4) marginalisation (not establishing links with host culture and severing relationship with home culture). It is important to note that he used the notion of integration in a very specific way, to describe a specific mental attitude which could be seen as a kind of transcultural mental structure. Nevertheless, research has found that what he referred to as integration strategy led to the most adaptive and fruitful sociocultural and psychological adaptation in the host culture (Liebkind 2001; Sam et al. 2008). In the frame of the integrative acculturation strategy, individual immigrants do not dismiss home society values but rather adjust them (thus original values can and often do undergo changes), whilst adapting to those of the new society (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2006). Sakamoto (2007) noted a major shortcoming of the acculturation theory: by focusing too much on individuals' micro-level incorporation processes, it failed to pay adequate attention to structural issues that individuals faced when navigating new culture(s). This is in line with Rogler's (1994) earlier warning that socioeconomic changes should also be taken into consideration when investigating acculturation.

By returning our gaze to the three main theoretical approaches to integration of migrants in host societies, the *multiculturalist* approach (Conzen et al. 1992) seems to take an entirely opposite stance, as it fundamentally rejects the assumption of assimilation. It calls on people not only to be aware of the presence of ethnic groups and their members in host societies but also to appreciate them. Ethnic group members are an integral part of host societies, regardless of their level of integration observed from the perspective of the majority native group. Migrants (of first and subsequent generations) are not required to renounce their culture to become a stronger part of society as a whole. Glazer and Moynihan (1976) look at ethnic groups not as defined by their allegedly shared culture, but as interest groups (Conzen et al. 1992: 4). They posit that groups can be better deployed if organised based on ethnicity as opposed to, for instance, social class. Many nevertheless critique the multiculturalist approach. One of such loud critiques is that by overemphasising the ethnic element, less attention is paid to how migrants 'construct their own acculturation and assimilation' (Zhou 1997: 982) (for further critiques, see the 'Multiculturalism and Integration' part of the Literature Review).

As to the *structuralist* framework, it accentuates that the outcome of incorporation is impacted by the structure of the society, since society is fractured along lines of structures of inequalities (e.g. Barth and Noel 1972; Zhou 1997). By accentuating the role of structures

and power inequalities, adequate importance has not been accorded to more subtle, non-macro level processes of societal incorporation. Undoubtedly, the above scrutinised three main theoretical frameworks, however, rarely explain social reality in their pure forms.

Nevertheless, scholars have been attempting to define integration. Some do it in a simpler, others in a more complex way. For instance, Penninx (2005) defines integration as 'the process of becoming an accepted part of society' (p. 141). This apparently uncomplicated definition of integration has its strengths and weaknesses. By stating that integration is a process, it emphasises the time element and constant dynamism of the process, and as such mirrors real life situations. However, it is not clear what 'accepted' would mean: who would determine the rules for being accepted, or what migrants would be expected (at all) to integrate into? Also, the wording implies a power imbalance between the rule-setting society and the migrants. Even though it highlights migrants' agency, it fails to consider underlying structures and barriers, which definitely cannot be overlooked when discussing integration. Heckmann, on the other hand (2005: 15), aims to cover more elements in his integration definition. According to him, integration is

> a long-lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society. For the migrants integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards the immigration society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society, in which, however, the receiving society has much more power and prestige.

This definition is more ambitious than the previous one. It covers the many sites into which migrants are expected to be integrated, being the cultural, political, social and economic spheres. Although it duly enumerates processes migrants would undergo, it remains vague about the role of state or native community. Therefore, instead of listing different integration definitions, this Section 2.2.5 endeavours to explore aspects of integration that have been viewed as determinative in the integration literature.

Scholars agree that integration is a many-faceted concept with the chief aspects of *political, economic, cultural and social integration* (Entzinger 2000). Which of these aspects are emphasised more is greatly contingent on historic and socio-politico-economic circumstances. Apart from the above, widely used aspects of integration, other facets of

integration have also been identified. For instance, Snel et al. (2006) accentuate the '*functional*' side of integration, meaning active participation in structural elements of society (e.g. labour market, education, housing). Zetter et al. (2002) consider two more domains of integration, *legal* and *statutory domains*, although it is not entirely clear why these latter two form distinct areas. Gidley and Jayaweera (2010) draw our attention to a type of integration which is usually not explicitly referred to as such, but which, according to them, also needs to be taken into account. This is '*identity integration'*, and is described as the extent to which migrants feel that they are part of the locality, country, and that they belong there (p. 41). They argue that identity integration is established from the bottom up, as it plays out primarily at the local level which later turns into a national level feeling of belonging.

Integration is at the same time highly abstract, and practical. Therefore, to understand how it manifests itself in everyday realities of migrants, '*indicators of integration'* were invoked. For instance, Ager and Strang (2004, 2008) devised a system of 'indicators of integration', classified into the following four distinct groups that mirrored the common way of distinction between aspects of integration: (1) markers and means in the domains of employment, housing, education and health (basically structural indicators); (2) social connections such as social bridges, social bonds and social links (social indicators); (3) facilitators such as language and cultural knowledge, and safety and stability (cultural indicators); and finally (4) foundation, such as rights and citizenship (political indicators) (p. 5). These aspects of integration could certainly be closely associated with social sites where integration actually happens (Entzinger 2000). Ager and Strang's evaluation attempts to encompass a vast array of aspects of social life and provide us with a holistic view on integration. Besides its all-encompassing nature, the argument's strength is the seemingly equal importance given to all four indicators. However, as critiques point out, migrants may not value such areas equally (Hammond 2013) and thus some areas of integration may be more prominent, others less significant, for the individual migrants. Less ambitious interpretations of integration focus on specific sites of integration, such as the social or cultural. By doing so, they monitor integration either by using abstract, hard-to-define concepts such as embeddedness, identity, or more tangible benchmarks such as quantity and quality of social networks (e.g. Ryan et al. 2008). Scholars however agree that as integration is a composite and multifaceted concept, its manifestations are also complex and often intertwining (e.g. Penninx et al. 2008). Binaisa (2013) adds, integration can be interpreted through similarly abstract concepts, as well, such as discourses extending over public and private spheres.

From very early on, scholars pointed out that there were many areas or sites where integration could occur more easily than at other sites. For instance, an individual migrant may be well established in his/her ethnic economy and have strong social networks expanding to ethnic group members, however may have difficulties accessing mainstream labour market jobs. Gans (1992) used the term '*bumpy approach'* for this phenomenon, to call attention to the unbalanced nature of integration (or, in his case, assimilation). He observed that second-generation immigrants, with their higher life expectations than their first-generation migrant parents, experienced difficulties in integrating into mainstream American society. The hardships, or bumps as he called them, stemmed both from the structures of society, and from the (lack of) agency of migrants. The unbalanced integration concept, however, was soon critiqued. Its opponents warned that by allowing room for uneven integration, migrants might live isolationist, so-called '*parallel' life* (Cantle 2001) within society, by retreating into their ethnic 'bubble', and thus without the need to make a serious effort to integrate. Others have also opposed the concept of bumpy integration, however along different lines. Many disputed the assumption that segregation would follow ethnic minority divisions (Worley 2005; Finney and Simpson 2009), especially as ethnic minorities are socially constructed concepts with fluid borders (Yuval-Davis 1991; Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992). They are 'constantly recreating themselves, and ethnicity is continuously being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society' (Conzen et al. 1992: 5). Moreover, if the focus of integration remains on ethnic and cultural differentiations between the majority and minority populace, certain equally important social distinctions such as gender and class could be overlooked (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Erdal 2013).

Another integration theory, the *segmented assimilation* theory, did not only prioritise the ethnic and racial make-up of certain migrant groups but also considered class as an important social marker. The approach, developed by Portes and Zhou (1993), shared some similarities with the parallel or bumpy integration theories in the sense that it also challenged the main assumption that incorporation into society occurs in a linear way. It accentuates different processes and outcomes, arguing that second-generation migrants may opt for different tracks of incorporation into society by choosing which segment of society they want to become part of. They posit that acceptance of White middle class American norms and culture is not the only and necessarily embraceable path to integration, but migrants may integrate into other segments of society, such as the working class, or their own ethnic community (Zhou 1997, Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004). This questions the long-standing postulation that total assimilation naturally occurs over

generations of stay in the country of residence. Segmented assimilation is therefore not an inefficient way of incorporation, and can contribute to establishing and maintaining multiple identities (Joppke and Morawska 2003; Morawska 2004), but however can result in more pronounced social gaps between migrants and White middle-class natives (Itzigsohn and Giorguli-Saucedo 2005). The theory's strength is that even though it gives emphasis to migrants' agency, at the same time it does not lose sight of the structural configuration of societies shaping integration. However, as Castles et al. (2001) warn us, by following this theory, broader or more complex patterns of integration may be overlooked (Ager and Strang 2004). Peggy Levitt (2007) moved further with her *selective participation* approach. Both her approach and the segmented assimilation theory emphasise migrants' agency in choosing their own integration trajectory. Levitt nonetheless extends the geographical space to transnational social sites (see Faist 2000; Glick Schiller et al. 1995). As per her influential hypothesis, transnationalism and integration are not mutually exclusive categories (also Kivisto 2003; Erdal and Oeppen 2013), which until that time had been mainly seen as such. She pointed out that migrants often construed their space affiliations in a transnational way without practical regard to nation state borders, thereby countering methodological nationalism (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002).

At a time when the expression *community cohesion* became widely used in political discourses in the UK, other perspectives on integration emerged accentuating the micro levels of integration. Having reflected on the northern riots of 2001, Amin (2002) posited that intercultural understanding and community cohesion happen on sites that are closest to native and non-native communities, and where these groups meet each other, i.e. in the course of everyday interactions. Integration was more and more seen to happen at the level of the everyday, at 'prosaic sites of cultural exchange and transformation' (p. 969). Nevertheless, mere contact between people of different socio-ethnic backgrounds in such spaces, such as coffee houses, streets, shopping centres and parks, would not necessarily lead to integration. Transient encounters may not allow for mental dispositions enabling understanding and acknowledgement of differences. Amin claimed that more would be needed for such contacts: a certain compulsory element and some regularity, e.g. at workplaces or educational institutions that are attended regularly. Amin's theoretical framework inspired many. For instance, Sandercock (2006: 42) underlined the role of 'daily habits of perhaps quite banal intercultural interaction' in the process of integration, which was explained by Gilroy (2004) as a form of 'conviviality, cohabitation and multi-ethnic interaction in ordinary life' (cited in Vertovec 2007: 26). Vertovec (2007) assembled these forms of integration under the notion 'civil integration' through which he meant 'acquisition

and routinisation of everyday practices for getting on with others in the inherently fleeting encounters that comprise city life' (p. 4). By focusing on the micro level of social exchanges, Vertovec challenged the belief that only deep and significant encounters can lead to social cohesion and integration. Castles (2011), as well, welcomed the idea that less significant, everyday relations could contribute to the feeling of being better integrated, and disputed the practicality of policymakers' covert assimilationist efforts in an age of super-diversity (Vertovec 2007). Meaningful social relations could, as many migrants testify, 'emerge from the everyday praxis of living together' (Castles 2011: 26).

To summarise, integration has diverse meanings. It can mean a process of adaptation of migrants as a group, of approach between (members of) non-native and native communities, or it can depict the process of individual incorporation in a host society. It can also be a policy programme (Erdal 2013). It entails a constantly evolving process of negotiation between migrant and native groups and individuals, at various levels (Ehrkamp 2006). Despite philosophical construction of the concept as a two-way process, the practicalities of integration are seen as resting chiefly with migrants (cf. Atfield et al. 2007; Rutter et al. 2007). Scholars furthermore challenge the long-standing, at times implicit, at others more explicit assumption that integration is a linear process, and that total integration (assimilation) will happen over time, over generations (e.g. Portes and Zhou 1993; Rutter 2013). Castles et al. remind us that 'in a multicultural society marked by differences in culture, religion, class and social behaviour, there cannot be just one mode of integration' (2002: 114). Moreover, Milton Gordon already advocated in 1964 that the different frameworks of integration can live next to each other by supplementing each other (in Kivisto 2003: 19). What then does integration mean for the migrants? How do the people who (are expected to) integrate construe the concept of integration? The following Section 2.2.6 will explore understandings of integration by migrants themselves.

2.2.6 Integration as Lived Practices - Immigrants' Approaches to Integration

As Erdal (2013) suggested, to counterbalance political viewpoints on integration, it is essential to incorporate migrants' voices in the integration discourse, which would contribute to more balanced and multi-sided apprehensions of the concept of integration. Especially, as integration is often considered as migrants' 'homework' (Rutter et al. 2007: 99), and its steps are indeed primarily taken by migrants. Therefore, there is an acute need to investigate

migrants' approaches to integration. This Section 2.2.6 will contain a concise overview of migrants' understandings of integration, primarily within the UK context.

Since integration programmes in the UK 'traditionally' targeted refugees, refugees' views on integration have been collected from time to time. For instance, Ager and Strang's 2004 report, commissioned by the Home Office, examined refugees' voices around integration. Several main themes emerged that refugees saw as paramount for their integration. British citizenship was, for example, a much sought after legal status to achieve, enabling full political participation and providing a sense of strong legal stability. The right to vote was also perceived 'as an important sign of recognition by the host society' (p. 9). Apart from these political aspects of integration, refugees seemed to be mostly concerned about cultural and structural incorporation shown mainly in learning English and civic information, getting access to vocational training and education in general, and also to information on services. Refugees increasingly saw that 'the onus of responsibility is on them to integrate' (p. 9).

A following piece of research focused similarly on refugee integration, more specifically on the integration experiences of refugees (Rutter et al., 2007). The report claimed that most studies on refugee integration overlooked more subtle issues of integration, and thus to gain a more holistic view on refugee integration it was essential to involve refugees in developing integration policies targeting them. From their narratives, integration emerged as a concept far from being linear, heavily contextualised and strongly impacted by everyday circumstances and the responses to them. For the interviewed refugees, practicalities of integration could be best understood at the micro level, at sites that were closest to them and most significant in their everyday lives. Labour market immersion of the individual migrants was high on the list of their integration-related priorities. Social integration in the form of frequent encounters with others within their neighbourhood was also a key element of feeling integrated. A palpable appreciation of basic rights permeated their recollections, which transpired from their high-level political involvement and presence in the ethnic minority voluntary sector. Contrary to what political discourses on unsuccessful integration of some ethnic minorities might have suggested, participants in the research successfully negotiated their multiple identities in their host country and viewed Britishness as part of their integrated identity, allowing them a more secure life cushioned by political, economic and social rights. Britishness for them did not necessarily mean interiorising 'British' cultural norms and values, although they certainly shared and conformed to values and norms of the British 'mainstream'. As Hammond (2013) claimed in a more recent study,

> if integration is associated with migrant identity and the migrant who thinks of him/herself as belonging to the place in which s/he has settled, then this kind of integration does not appear to be a high priority,

which is also applicable to the participant refugees of Rutter et al.'s study. Although it is a major step that policymakers have turned their attention towards this specific group of migrants, nevertheless, like Ager and Strang's research described above (2004), Rutter et al.'s research also focused on the experiences and views of a particular group of migrants, that of refugees, who represented only a fraction of the whole migrant population in the UK, and who possibly would have had different integration related needs ensuing from their pre-migration life histories of uncertainties and fear. Collecting refugees' voices, nevertheless, still remains relevant.

Recently a number of scholars have begun to focus on the concept of integration as understood by immigrants as a wider group (Amin 2007 in Rutter 2013; Brubaker et al 2008; Cherti and McNeil 2012; Korac 2003; Rutter et al. 2007; Rutter et al. 2008; Wessendorf 2011). Their qualitative social research unveils a pragmatic approach to the notion of integration. According to such studies, for migrants, integration is linked to and gains meaning from everyday and local relations. Participants tend to conceptualise less in abstract terms. Instead, they highlight integrative powers of tangible encounters within everyday social spaces that can be directly linked to their lives. These happen primarily at workplaces, children's schools, sport clubs, or otherwise in their closest spatial vicinity (Cherti and McNeill 2012). Refugees' understandings of integration seem to be closely in agreement with such findings, except that for refugees, acquisition of political rights seemed to be more accentuated. The labour market emerges as an area of social participation that is equally significant for both policy makers and migrants, albeit from different perspectives. The chief concern of policy makers is to avoid migrants being dependent on the state, whilst migrants view labour market participation as a financial, social and emotional necessity (Spencer 2006) for their life in the host country, and their integration. Labour market integration for them thus functions on at least two levels; it is often seen as both precondition and outcome of migrant integration. Although not often considered, the level of income could also be closely related to integration, especially as it impacts on the financial capacity to interact with others in social spaces outside the workplace (Datta et al. 2006).

A more recent study from the Institute for Research into Superdiversity, 'Migration and Integration', examined factors facilitating and impeding migrant integration, primarily in

their local communities and neighbourhoods (Craig 2015). This was considered chiefly in relation to the 'critical' domains of health provision, education, housing and the labour market. Also, the research shed light on how integration programmes work in practice, thus contributing to gaining further insight into how certain factors and circumstances impact on local integration endeavours.

Although seeking integration-related ideas of those who assume the lion's share in the process of integration would seem obvious, there is a relative lack of interest in the wider group of migrants' views on integration at the highest policy making level. Also, the voices of migrants themselves are usually absent from the literature (Craig 2015). It is argued that the main reason for that is that the highly informative 'grey' literature, prepared by community organisations and NGOs that have most access to migrants and knowledge of migrant integration due to their local position, is rarely considered in top-down migration discourses and literature, hence the need to address this hiatus (Craig 2015). Also, most studies of migrant integration construe migrants as a homogeneous group, and thus in general fail to give adequate attention to certain main markers of difference, such as gender (Goodson and Phillimore 2008), level of education, or class. Considering the role of gender in integration is highly relevant, the more so as 'too often integration processes take place in the context of organisations and groups which are dominated by men' (Craig 2015: 8). Furthermore, in relation to the level of education, it is a widely-held assumption that (highly) skilled migrants, i.e. 'those at the top' (Gidley and Jayaweera 2010: 11), are exempt from integration-related difficulties, and as such have relatively smooth integration paths. This premise was strongly questioned by Gidley and Jayaweera (2010) in their research conducted on migrant incorporation in London. It is therefore imperative that when assessing integration of migrants of first and subsequent generations, differences construed alongside such markers of difference should be taken into account (Saggar et al. 2012). My research therefore aims to address this gap in the literature by exploring understandings of integration of migrants themselves, situated at the intersection of gender (women), educational level (highly educated), class (higher classes, from middle-middle class upwards), and to a certain extent ethnicity.

2.3 Migration of (Highly) Skilled / Educated Women

2.3.1 Introduction

The second segment of this chapter reviews literature on migration of (highly) skilled/educated women. To begin with, there will be a concise analysis of the evolution of research on women's migration. This will be followed by enquiring into the notions of 'skills', '(highly) skilled', and 'highly educated'.

2.3.2 The Beginnings – Absence of Women's Migration from the Migration Literature

Although by now the majority of migrants in the UK are women (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017), for a long time women were to a great extent ignored in international migration studies. The bulk of initial theoretical and empirical social research on migrants concentrated mostly on male migrants (Pedraza, 1991; Kofman 2000). Not only were statistics on female migration for a long time absent (Morokvasic 1984) but as Morokvasic (1984; 1991) argued, research related to women migrants lacked the ability to make a noticeable impact on policy making. The first quantitative proof of female migration on a global scale became available only from the end of the 1990s, when the UN Population Division published data showing the sex of migrants (Zlotnik 2003). These data showed that out of the approximately 155.5 million international migrants in the world in 1990, an estimated 76.4 million were women, thus constituting 49.1% of the international migrant population. As global international migration grew in stock over time, the number of women migrants also increased; however, the percentage of women among all migrants seemed to remain constant or increased only slightly. According to a more recent UN Report on world migration (UNDESA 2013), out of the estimated 231.5 million international migrants, approximately 111 million were women, which accounted for 48% of the total international migrants.

From the UK statistics, it can be seen that in the UK alone 4,790,000 migrants resided in 2000 (UN DESA 2009), while more than a decade later, in 2013, the number of foreign-born people living in the UK was established as 7,860,000 (Salt 2013). By 2016, more than half of the migrants in the UK were women (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017). The UK had been attracting significant numbers of migrants from the Indian subcontinent mainly due to historical reasons subsequent to colonialism. Among them, women were in great numbers. For a long time, the main entry route for them had been family-related migration (Lahav 1998; SOPEMI 2000; Kofman 2007; Kofman et al. 2005), although recently other ways of entry (e.g. labour, study) have been gaining more ground. Unfortunately, available statistics are not detailed enough, and thus there is no precise data as to the number of highly skilled/educated women migrants entering the UK through the different migratory channels

(please see section 1.2.1 above for a more detailed description of statistics on women's migration).

Numerous attempts have been made to explain why migration studies consistently neglected women as their focus until at least the end of the 1970s. Some believe it could be accounted for by immigration regulations being designed primarily for the accommodation of male migrants. For instance, countries that adopted the guest worker scheme (such as Germany) saw a strict periodisation and gradualism of labour migration followed by (and by no means parallel to) family migration (Castles and Miller 1993: 8-9). Female migration was only considered under the secondary migration route, family migration, which took place at a later date, some time after the arrival of male labour migrants. In certain other countries known for their colonial or settler histories (e.g. the UK, Australia, Canada, US), family migration was a constant and major route for migration from the beginning (Gabaccia 1996; Harzing 2003). Lutz (2010) pointed this out as a critique of the pervading mainstream view on gradualism of migration of sexes in migration studies, a view embraced by many, including influential migration scholars such as Castles and Miller (1993).

Kofman (1999, 2000) argued that the dominant assumption of a split between male migrants as producers, active and desirable work force and female migrants as reproducers, passive and dependent elements shaped interest in women's migration. Bruegel (1996) used the plastic expression of 'trailing' spouses for dependent women. Such pervading assumptions did not leave room to consider women migrants based on their distinguishing markers other than sex, such as entry route, skill level or level of education. It was surmised that they entered the host countries as family migrants accompanying their male family members, and as assumed passive elements, were regarded as low skilled in many respects (less educated, with language difficulties, etc.), and restricted to the social sphere of the family. In a study on the need to focus on gendered migration, Lutz (2010) suggested the absence of women's migration from the literature could be mainly attributed to the dominant, male-centred gender order of the global North, where the invoked 'normative gender order' (Connell 1987; Jungwirth 2008) referred to norms and ideals related to gender roles and hierarchies in specific societies. She argued that research on men was viewed as the 'normal', the more so as women were believed to be lacking true agency and were 'copying' men in their migration activities (Carling 2005). Also, a seemingly insignificant but valid argument could be the fact that men had been overrepresented in academia and naturally tended to focus on men-centred or gender-neutral issues (Lutz 2010).

2.3.3 Advent of Research on Women's Migration

From the late 1970s, feminist researchers began investigating numerous social phenomena related to women; thus women gradually became subjects of migration research. This led mainstream migration research to also slowly recognise that the issue of female migration, or 'feminisation' of migration (Lutz and Koser 1998), could not be overlooked any more (Castles and Miller 2003). Some initial research drew attention to working women, thereby challenging the long-standing assumption of passivity and dependency attributed to women migrants (Phizacklea 1983; Morokvasic 1984). The first significant body of social research on migrant women, which emerged a decade later, addressed some specific, select sectors (Kofman 2000) in which women worked in less skilled jobs. These sectors mainly offered jobs that natives considered undesirable, and therefore were linked to a generally low social position. Work was mainly done within the private sphere, such as the domestic work of caring, and cleaning (Anderson 2000; Parrenas 2001; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Kilkey et al. 2013; Lutz 2008), or within the sex industry (Sassen 2000; Augustin 2007; Kempadoo et al. 2005). Subsequent research on women migrants targeted 'problematic' groups (Kofman 1997), usually of Muslim background. An ever growing corpus of research began questioning the homogeneity of women as a group by addressing race and ethnicity-related social problems. Also, many began to focus on power differences between women and men, and within groups of women (Lutz 2010). The by now well-established concept of intersectionality came into being (and used by e.g. Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992; Yuval-Davis 2006; Phoenix and Pattynama 2006), which continues to be prominent in gendered migration research even today. As the cited studies explored the situation of groups of vulnerable women, their scope failed to encompass those less vulnerable, more skilled and educated (except perhaps a handful of studies such as that on self-employed women by Morokvasic (1991), or community mediators by Lutz (1993), or more recently Raghuram and Kofman 2002, 2004; Kofman and Raghuram 2006).

2.3.4 Research on Skilled Migration

Given that for a long time female migrants were relatively invisible in the migration literature (Kofman 2000), it may not be surprising to observe that the first tranche of research on skilled migration focused almost exclusively on male migrants. Many reasons can be given for this fact. Some posit that this was mainly due to the more and more globalised economic and financial activities, and accordingly to increased power and prominence of multinational companies, also called transnational corporations (Findlay et al.

1996). Most initial research investigating skilled migrants thus turned its attention to this specific group of highly mobile workers, mainly men, and studied them chiefly from an organisational point of view (such as Salt 1992; Beaverstock 1994; Beaverstock and Smith 1996; Salt and Singleton 1995). This tendency in the literature persisted even though since World War II growing numbers of skilled women have been migrating from former colonies to previous colonial powers, often gaining jobs in feminised, but nevertheless skilled sectors, especially in nursing, medicine, teaching or social work (Kofman 2000).

Despite the above, skilled women did not come to the fore of academic investigations for a while. A great number of studies on skilled migrants remained either 'genderless' (Boucher 2009) or the gender structure of the researched group was not given adequate focus (Kofman 2000; Raghuram 2008), for example, in studies by Chiswick (2005), Lowell (2008), Smith and Favell (2006), and Solinas (2008). The reasons why skilled migrant women were ignored, according to Kofman (2012), are manifold, firstly due to the already stated assumption that women were in general lower skilled, i.e. those women who were not employed in skilled business sectors did not possess skills (Dumont et al. 2007). Gendered immigration laws may well push skilled female migrants to enter through the family migration route instead of the less flexible labour route, which by no means implies that these women were non-productive (Carling 2005; Erel 2009). Secondly, feminist researchers mainly studied the vulnerable end of the women migrant scale (e.g. Hochschild 2000). Lastly, the concept of skills was primarily used to distinguish knowledge workers, mostly male migrants, occupying the sectors of science and technology, management, and business (Caviedes 2009 in Kofman 2012). It is regrettable that (highly) skilled women have not been studied in the literature to the same extent as male migrants, especially as for some time skilled women have formed an increasing number within the stock of skilled migrants in numerous countries, including the UK (Dumont et al. 2007; Docquier et al. 2009; Kofman and Raghuram 2005).

2.3.5 Research on Skilled Women's Migration

However, a number of changes that occurred in the decade of 2000 impacted on and reshaped global migration patterns of skilled women. These changes include frequently changing immigration regulatory environments of major host countries of the global North that overtly favour (highly) skilled migrants (Raghuram and Kofman 2004). Skills became the basis for determining immigration quotas (Man 2004). Iredale (2005) identified five types of governmental immigration approaches, with the power to significantly reconfigure

skilled migration patterns. These are *liberal* (mainly followed by the US), *semi-liberal* (for instance Canada), *managed* (a good example is the EU), *exclusive-protectionist* approaches (such as that of Australia and New Zealand), and the *demand-driven/short term* model (largely applicable to the East Asian countries of Japan, South Korea, Singapore). The UK also developed a so-called Highly Skilled Migration Programme, implemented in 2002, allowing carefully chosen third-country national skilled migrants, irrespective of gender, to enter the country. Although not on a large scale, such newly introduced immigration selection regulations still opened doors to many skilled women employed in specific professions or with specific skills wanting to migrate by using the route of labour migration. As per such rules, women became more valuable within migrant households, in particular, in cases where there was room to combine spouses' skills when applying for a visa (applied for example in Australia), despite migrating as a spouse. Raghuram and Kofman (2004) pointed out another major overall change in immigration rules creating permeability of immigration statuses. For example those who were already residing in host countries but entered through non-labour migration routes, e.g. students, could change their visa status and gain a work permit based on such permeability. The implementation of such flexible regulations aimed at retaining skilled migrants, including women. The constantly changing immigration rules therefore form extremely powerful structures that have a crucial impact on migration decisions, trajectories, and experiences of skilled migrant women.

The described changes and the increase in the number of women entering countries of residence as skilled labour migrants brought about a surge in interest in skilled migrant women. Kofman (2012) identified some streams of research with a focus on skilled women migrants; some highlighted differences between male and female migration (e.g. Shinozaki 2008), many looked at mainly male-dominated sectors such as sciences (Jungwirth 2011), the ITC sector (Iredale 2001; Khadria 2001; Raghuram 2008), or the technology sector in general (Grigoleit 2010). Following the bursting of the IT bubble, there was an increased demand for migrants in certain sectors which were considered feminine, such as teaching, nursing, and medicine. These openings created labour migration possibilities for a high number of skilled women migrants (Raghuram and Kofman 2004). Some pieces of research explored specifically these feminised areas, such as nursing (Kingma 2007; Yeates 2010), medicine (Raghuram and Montiel 2003 cited in Kofman 2012) and, to a certain extent, academia (Cooke 2007; Czarniawska and Sevon 2008); also many researchers studied skilled women migrants who were employed in a range of other occupations. Also, there has been a growing research corpus on highly educated women migrants (although this strand

overlaps with literature on the highly skilled) (e.g. Cretu 2017; Dumitru 2016; Dumitru and Marfouk 2015).

Skill, nonetheless, is a category which cuts through traditional entry routes. As skilled women may enter the host country by way of distinct migration routes apart from labour migration, a high number of such skilled migrant women are invisible due to inadequate statistics on gendered and skilled migration, and also to convertibility of immigration statuses. Some scholars enquired specifically into experiences of skilled women migrants entering through the path of labour migration (Raghuram 2008), while others focused on those who, albeit skilled, entered host countries as family migrants (cf. Kofman and Raghuram 2006; Liversage 2009; Jungwirth 2011; Raghuram 2004; or Riano and Baghdadi 2007 on educated female migrants).

There is a considerable literature on deskilling and brain waste of skilled migrants. Once in the host country, the validation of skills remains a complex process and is dependent upon certain structural and other factors besides the agency of the migrants. Therefore, it is not unusual for skilled migrant women to experience difficulties in (re)establishing their labour market life in skilled positions. 'Brain waste' or 'brain abuse' (Bauder 2003) has been a research topic for more than a decade in the migration literature, especially in the literature focusing on the labour market integration of migrants, and still continues to be so. The concept is generally used to describe the phenomenon of underutilisation or ineffective utilisation of migrants' skills in the destination country (Mahroum 2000; Williams & Balaz 2005). This broad concept covers different types of work-related statuses and attitudes, including unemployment, underemployment, non-adequate employment, and non-satisfactory employment. The term brain waste is often juxtaposed with brain gain, while this latter in its turn tends to be linked to brain drain, at least at a macro level.

The occurrence of brain waste could be attributed to numerous factors. Some obstacles are gender neutral. Challenges can emanate from structural causes such as the construction of national labour markets (e.g. Büchel and Frick 2005; Kogan 2006) and the stringent regulatory framework of professional bodies operating in the labour market, i.e. the accreditation system for foreign qualifications and the need for host country work experience (Raghuram and Kofman 2002, Man 2004; Reitz et al. 2014). In many instances, lack of host country qualification is a serious obstacle to labour market integration (Bauder 2003; Liversage 2009; Riano and Baghdadi 2007). Prejudice and labour market discrimination against migrants is also not unheard of (Iredale 1987; Hawthorne 1994; Moorhouse &

Cunningham 2010; Shinnaoui & Narchal 2010). In some cases, discrimination was attributed to physical visibility of being a migrant. An example could be Esses et al.'s (2006) observation that migrants who acquired their academic credentials in India were considered more negatively when applying for jobs due to their visible difference from the mainstream white natives (in Shinnaoui & Narchal, 2010). These barriers often led to earning gaps between natives and migrants and lower occupational status vis-à-vis natives (Zhou 1997). Others explained brain waste by placing the country of origin at the focal point of the investigation. When examining the labour market achievements of highly skilled migrants in the US, Mattoo, Neagu and Ozden (2008) found that it was more likely for migrants from developed countries and also from Asia to enjoy better and secure skilled jobs in the host country labour market, as opposed to those coming from Latin America or Eastern Europe. They attributed this phenomenon to the use of English language as a medium of education in many Asian countries, and to a more significant expenditure on higher education in these states. In positing such arguments, instead of skill underutilisation, they believed that those migrants who were less likely to secure skilled jobs in the labour market had either low skills or were unable to adequately transfer them, thus emphasising that structural, individual and other barriers to successful labour market integration remain tightly entwined.

Certain gender-neutral and personal causes could also form obstacles to labour market integration. The lack of certain soft skills such as good interpersonal or communication skills or the ability to build or maintain networks (Putnam 2000; Collett and Zuleeg 2008) all contribute to potential deskilling. Self-confidence also plays a role in tackling brain waste, as Williams and Balaž (2005) showed when they explored the perceptions of Slovakian return migrants, who emphasised the usefulness of self-confidence even after a relatively short stay of an average of 6-9 months in the UK. They also pointed out an important skill, that of 'social recognition' (p. 439), which in their understanding meant the utilisation of skills which stemmed from the recognition by the migrants that these skills existed (as Van der Heijden 2002 posits in Williams and Balaz 2005 it is a meta-knowledge, or being aware that they have knowledge). Moreover, migrants, even if working in jobs that were not commensurate with their skills, may have acquired certain skills from such work experiences (e.g. language knowledge or 'language capital' by Dustmann 1999), which could be converted or utilised later, especially through return migration, thereby yielding economic advantages.

Some factors leading to deskilling, however, affect migrant women more than men. These are more attributable to structural causes than to the agency of individual migrants, be they at

the macro, meso or micro levels. Kofman (2012) argues that brain waste for women often occurs in cases when the 'normative gender order' (as discussed elsewhere in this literature review part) is different in the country of origin and the country of destination. Social expectations around gender, or gender hierarchy within the household, leave their mark especially on domestic responsibilities and childcare, and as such often act as an impediment to women's careers (Raghuram 2004). These are closely linked to the loss of social networks and the inability to recreate networks (Favell 2008). For instance, mothers with small children and without institutionalised or private childcare support in the new country often find it hard to leave the house to pursue academic studies to qualify or re-qualify, or enrol on a language course (Salaff and Greve 2004). Certain household decisions favour the male partner's career, e.g. the man is first to pursue his career to the detriment of the woman's career (Cooke 2007), or if the man's job requires geographical flexibility, women's careers are 'penalised' (Clark and Withers 2002), although this latter may not be the case in dual-career families where the partners opt for a sequential approach based on who could fit more easily in the labour market first (Salaff and Greve 2004). Also, Cretu (2017) revealed in a recent work on highly educated migrant women from the post-Soviet area that the idea of deskilling that many of the highly educated migrant women experienced after having moved to the UK was premised on a high level of education, and as such this could lead to the devaluation of a high level of education. Iredale (2005) established a gradual, gendered implication ladder affecting highly skilled female migrants, ranging from home country experiences (such as the equality of gender in the education system, social and family expectations as to the role of women, attitudes towards career building for women) to host country ones (from gendered bias immigration policies, accreditation of skills and conditions to entry into professions). These successive structures, she posits, strongly impact on the ability of a skilled female migrant to reconstruct her professional life in the destination country without becoming overly 'refeminised' (Ho 2006). One needs to note that particular occupations such as nursing can also be the target of discrimination or at least prejudice due to their female-dominated nature (Kofman 2012).

Based on empirical evidence, many argue that the causes of deskilling intersect and thus act simultaneously. To elucidate the hardships women faced in the new country, Purkayastha (2005) posited in her research on highly skilled, highly educated Indian migrant women in the US who have arrived via the family migration route, that they faced 'cumulative disadvantage'. These played out at the intersection of certain barriers such as 'gendered/racialised' immigration rules, labour market experiences (public space) and gendered barriers within the household (private space). Similar outcomes were highlighted in

a later study (Riano and Baghdadi 2007) regarding Swiss labour market integration of skilled women, which highlighted the necessity to observe this phenomenon from the composite approach of the interplay of class, ethnicity and gender (Anthias 2001). These markers of difference, however, do not necessarily lead to cumulative disadvantage; some migrants succeed in using gender and non-nativeness as assets on the labour market (see Czarniawska and Sevon's (2008) paper on women professors in the male-dominated world of academia; this research however is based on an extremely small sample of four women with exceptional and outstanding qualities, including Marie Curie, therefore may not be a particularly good base for generalising.

Skilled women also appear in the strand of migration literature focusing on care and reproduction. As skills, from an immigration point of view, are largely equated with academic qualifications, language knowledge and professional practice, the focal point of the literature on skilled female migration has for a long time been on labour market incorporation. This in turn however resulted in a rather low number of studies focusing on skilled female migrants' various types of non-labour market participation, including reproductive work, especially within the family or the community (Raghuram and Kofman 2004; Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Skills for instance of mothering and reproduction of cultural and social knowledge from one generation to another, or within the migrant community, are often not valued in economic terms or not as much as the classic 'productive' tasks, despite their pivotal role for social reproduction. As a good example for social reproduction of skilled mothers, Nakuga (2013) identified a wide range of reproductive skills that Japanese mothers felt important to instil in their children who were brought up in the US (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). These included not only teaching Japanese language (home country language) to a high standard but also ensuring that English (destination country language) was thoroughly learnt. It encompassed establishing the ability to overcome identity clashes and becoming sociable, and they also encouraged their children to enrol in art, music or sports activities (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). The non-exhaustive list shows the complex and intensive nature of social reproductive work despite its being taken for granted and to a certain extent underrated within society, and accordingly within the literature on migration.

2.4 Class and Caste

2.4.1 Class in the Social Sciences

For a long time, in the broader social sciences literature, class had been viewed by many as obsolete or less important in an era of heightened individualisation and identity politics (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017). Many argued, as Gibson-Graham et al. (2000) pointed out, that class failed to secure both the theoretical and empirical focus that other markers of differing power relations could convey, such as gender and race. Such a belief pervaded the scholarship despite the fact that social class had traditionally been one of the basic, most well-established and highly powerful categories in the social sciences (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017). Others such as Bauman (2007) were of the view that since class solidarity had been eroding, inequality as a fundamental component of class had lost much of its relevance (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010).

Lately, the concept of class has been witnessing a powerful re-emergence in the broader social science as a highly significant container capturing social inequalities, distinctions, relationships and affiliations (cf. Crompton et al. 2000; Crompton and Scott 2005; Devine et al. 2005; Savage 2000; Skeggs 1997, 2004). In her seminal feminist work, Beverley Skeggs (1997) argued for an intersectional approach to gain more nuanced understandings of social power (inter)relations, by investigating identity and power (or class) through the lens of gender. Since then, many others have argued for the use of an intersectional lens when examining individual realities (see Anthias 2005 not only pertaining to class), where class appears to be determinant.

There have been numerous attempts at conceptualizing class since the inception of the notion. The highly influential theory of Marx located individuals in the social hierarchy through their link with the means of capitalistic production and their role in this process (Kelly 2012). Marx drew a picture of a social class structure defined by fundamental antagonism between the two main classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat, where distinction was made through property, i.e. ownership of production, and labour power. Currently, as Bottero (2014) described, two major approaches to class can be distinguished. The first is still strongly influenced by classical understandings of class, drawing on Marxist and Weberian class concepts. It advances that class is a social category of individuals and groups with similar features, behaviours and lifestyles (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017). Based on this classic approach, class could be defined ‘as [a] position [that] refers to the location of

an individual in a societal division of labor and a stratified structure of wealth' (Kelly 2012: 156). Such a *class-as-position* perspective considers class as 'collective, explicit and oppositional' (Bottero 2014: 987), with a 'precise and contained approach to the meaning of "class"' (Bottero 2014: 985). In this strand of literature, 'individuals occupy objectively classifiable locations in a societal structure' (Kelly 2012: 156). Many of the critiques of such a static and deterministic approach highlighted the need to consider other axes of distinction such as race and gender, which idea could also be attributed to the concept's lack of popularity in the 1980s and 1990s (Kelly 2012). In particular, as there is a need to acknowledge a wide range of power vectors determining individuals' life in society (Devine and Savage 2005).

Meanwhile, the second current perspective on class emphasizes the individually lived nature of class, which makes the concept contingent on underlying social and cultural realities (Bottero 2014). This second stance views the nature of class as dynamic: 'class is not a given but is in continual production' (Skeggs 2004: 3). It perceives class as more of a process than a 'precise and contained' (Bottero 2014: 985) structure (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017). As Kelly (2012) pointed out, this second, *class-as-process* approach had many positive effects as it enabled the use of class in more flexible ways. With the acknowledgement of other similarly significant markers of difference that determine one's life, such as race and gender, it questioned the assumption of a 'commonality of interests, processes, and outcomes on that basis' (Kelly 2012: 157), and gave way to acknowledgement of multiple allegiances, even based on class interests (Gibson et al. 2001). Kelly also emphasized that an intersectional and procedural approach to class renders class relations relative, as class can be formed by way of other axes of difference, for instance ethnicity; thus class would be 'overdetermined' (Gibson-Graham et al. 2000 in Kelly 2012) by these most powerful social differences. Also, class could be applied to contexts which are not purely capitalistic (as Marx suggested), which widened the scope of its applicability to relations inside the home or household as well (e.g. Gibson-Graham et al. 2001 in Kelly 2012).

Kelly (2012) identified two more major aspects of class in his work on transnational class conceptualisation, that of *class-as-performance* and *class-as-politics*. He examined class subjectivities of Filipino migrants in Canada and recognized that understanding class in the 'traditional' sense of the notion would not give an adequate account of the experienced downward mobility of such migrants, as other class dimensions should also be taken into account, especially in a transnational social field. He also viewed class as performance, since 'subjective understandings of class may seem imprecise, contradictory, and unsatisfactory',

and is thus performed in numerous settings on a daily basis. He argued that class-as-performance is particularly conspicuous in performing consumption (see also Bourdieu 1984; Devine et al. 2005), where consumption can be both marker and 'entry requirement' to certain class positions, while class position as embodiment such as embodied racial, gender-linked, or other visible or audible performances, for instance accent, behaviour or dress, could all project one's class standing in an embodied way (p. 160). He also saw class as politics, to accentuate the concept's close links with political solidarity in both individual and collective forms, where class shapes and is shaped by political mobilizations of such solidarities (p. 161). It is argued that approaches to class seen as position, process, performance or politics are not mutually exclusive categories, but have significant overlap directed by the many contingencies and temporalities in an individual's life. In a recent study, Stefan Rother (2017) demonstrated how the political mobilisation and everyday class performance of Indonesian domestic workers in Hong Kong can lead to affiliation with a class truly transcending nation-state borders, that of the 'transnational social class of domestic workers'.

2.4.2 Class in the Migration Literature

A similar tendency could be perceived in the migration literature, as well. Class has been given less significance than other categories such as gender, religion or generation (van Hear 2014). From this it ensues that insufficient attention has likewise been given to class in relation to migrant women, even though, as already mentioned, from the late 1980s, migration scholarship has been complemented with studies based on gendered research (although the notion of gender there has been overwhelmingly used for females). Although gender and class naturally intertwine throughout the process of migrating, much of the gendered migration literature has focused on lower skilled and often lower-class (or perceived as such) migrants (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Also, such focus remained schematic and formulated against the backdrop of social inequalities (Kofman and Raghuram 2015).

In addition, class in the transnationalism scholarship has also not been accorded enough attention, despite calls for acknowledgement of class in relation to transnationalism and diasporas from the late 1990s (Anthias 1998; Phizacklea 2003). Until very recently, the scale of class remained within the 'national' (Kelly 2012), thus the stubborn analytical lens of methodological nationalism has been for a long time the only one applied to class analyses,

as well. Even Bourdieu, whose ideas have been particularly influential amongst migration scholars, including those focusing on transnationalism (cf. Erel 2010), argued that class played out in societies that are defined at the level of the nation (Devine and Savage 2005). As migration has more and more globally traceable impacts, studying class at various scales (not only national but also local, regional or other) is essential, especially as the process and outcomes of migration could bring about different meanings of class, in a culturally impregnated way. For instance, the establishment of co-ethnic communities in the destination countries also creates challenges to the meanings of class, and how migrants navigate these fluid spaces (Kelly 2012). Also, as has been recognised, migrants operate transnational ties, where class positions are maintained and reconstituted (Kelly 2012). Thus, 'class subjectivities might be complicated by the spatiality of migration' (Kelly 2012: 165), which must be given adequate recognition.

Class is often conflated with economic or financial position in much of the migration literature (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017). Certain relatively objective categories such as economic position, wealth, income or occupational status (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010) can determine to a great extent class standing, especially when class is determined in a more rigid and static way. At the same time, studies on transnational class relations reveal that class has different dimensions and meanings attached to differing geographical (Patil and Purkayastha 2015) and social spaces, often parallel or even simultaneously. Such positionalities can display considerable dissimilarities, while still being congruous with the individual's variegated realities, that are contingent on the spaces where they are played out. Economic strength, income and wealth, however, still figure high among determinants of class positions. For instance, Parreñas (2001) exposed how Filipino migrant women domestic workers experienced a simultaneous 'contradictory class mobility' (see also Morokvasic 2004) spanning home and host societies: they encountered downward social movement in the host country where they performed lower paid domestic work, while their move to the destination country enabled them to secure resources, both economic and symbolic (see Kelly 2012 on class positions of Filipino immigrants in Canada) that could elevate their (and their families') social position in the home country. The described downward social movement may affect both male and female migrants (Batnitzky et al. 2009). Migrants who experience downward social movement in the receiving country due to work in low-paid jobs or through deskilling may display compensatory emotional stances linked to sending home remittances, in an attempt to boost their battered self-confidence, as exhibited in Thai's 2014 work on Vietnamese migrants occupying low-paid jobs in the US (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki 2017).

2.4.3 Middle Class (in India)

The class system is widely understood as made up of three main classes, the upper class, the middle class and the working class, with other subclasses within each class. The middle class is traditionally subdivided into the upper-middle, the middle (or middle-middle), and the lower-middle classes. However, the middle class(es) had not always possessed important social, economic and political power to reckon with. For instance, when Marx conceptualised class, a true middle class was absent from his class system. His framework of society centred around the antagonistic and exploitative dynamics of two classes: the capitalist bourgeoisie owning the means of production, and the proletariat which does not have material wealth but owns and sells its labour power. Nevertheless, Marx recognised the existence of a smaller in-between class that he termed petty-bourgeoisie, being a reservoir for people who did not fall into either of the major two categories. These were smaller producers, shopkeepers, artisans, with little social power on the whole. Yet, descriptions of contemporary societies' class structures would remain inadequate if reduced to these two major layers of society, and especially in the context of developing countries, as Sridharan (2004) remarked. More recent approaches to the class system have continued giving prominence to economic power as a tool for stratification, i.e. to wealth and income or other forms of economic power. For instance, the economist Ravallion (2010) described the middle class 'typically … as having an income within some interval that includes the median'. This approach seems rather technical and one-sided with sole emphasis on rigid figures; however, it is relevant as it captures the zeitgeist of neoliberal discourses on markets-driven societies. Also, to accentuate the concept's temporalities, there is a usual distinction between 'old' and 'new' middle classes. 'Old middle class' is often used as a proxy for the petit-bourgeoisie (as already identified by Marx), while the 'new' middle class reflects a fundamental shift in relation to the means of production and occupations in contemporary societies (Wright 1985), and comprises the educated professional and white-collar workers (Giddens 1973).

The middle class in India is growing both in numbers and power. Based on the Market Information Survey of Households, conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), Sridharan (2004) estimated that in 2000 there were around 100-250 million people in the range of the middle class. This number, in Shukla's (2008, in Ravallion 2010) reading on a more recent NCAER survey, has not grown, it remained at around 120

million people. However, middle class in an Indian context cannot be entirely equated with Western sociological ideas of the middle class (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007; Ravallion 2010). The concepts of 'old' and 'new' middle classes also appear in Indian frames of reference, however with differing meanings. In India, the 'old' middle class has usually referred to a smaller but powerful fragment of society, which was at the forefront of the anticolonial movement (Béteille 2003) and exercised political and bureaucratic power for some decades after independence from colonial rule (Ray and Qayum 2009 in Bhatt et al. 2010). Bhardan (1994) viewed this old, 'professional' middle class as one of the three dominant 'proprietary' social layers, besides the big industrialists and the big landowners. Under such social bracket professionals were usually subsumed, such as bureaucrats, teachers, lawyers, and bank officials (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007). The 'new' middle class, on the other hand, has been used to depict a newly empowered social layer, which has become more numerous and particularly socially and economically relevant, especially from the 1990s (Ray and Qayum 2009 in Bhatt et al. 2010). Moreover, with the accumulation of wealth in the private sector, many of the social groups have become increasingly upwardly mobile (Bhardan 1994), or downwardly, with the loss of possessions. Some prefer using the term 'new rich' to overcome definitional ambiguities (Pinches 1999) instead of the 'new' middle class. Although this notion does not cover all layers of the new middle classes, it is used in a sense to highlight both the newness of the social standing and the richness of those falling into the scope of such category (Pinches 1999). These are mainly newly rich private sector entrepreneurs and professionals, including IT workers (Das 2002). The new middle class can also be distinguished from the old one in terms of its visible consumerism (Lakha 1999), where 'visual signs of wealth represent the new symbols of national progress in India' (Fernandes 2000: 614). Hence, the new middle class's often used label of 'consuming class' (Corbridge and Harriss 2000; Deshpande 2003). Also, apart from new lifestyles brought about by consumerism, the new middle class, as Sheth (1999) posited, could be defined through economic resources, and a conscious affiliation with the middle class. This latter is linked to the emergence of a new middle-class identity 'in the language of liberalization' (Fernandes and Heller 2006: 500). Although, as Sheth (1999) noted, the politically and culturally increasingly united middle class remained greatly variegated along its members' ethnic and social backgrounds.

As stated in relation to middle class in general (not just in connection with India), economic position within society greatly demarcates the boundaries of the middle class. For instance, the already mentioned NCAER survey stratified the Indian population into five groups defined solely on the basis of yearly income levels, out of which three groups comprised the

middle classes (upper-middle, middle and lower-middle) (Sridharan 2004). Such stratification prompted Sridharan (2004) to distinguish between the 'elite' middle class (corresponding to the highest income group), the 'expanded' middle class (which could be equated with the aggregate of the 'high' and 'upper middle' income groups), and the 'broadest' middle class (containing high, upper middle, and middle-income groups). However, other determinants also remain significant in drawing the scope of the middle class. For instance, cultural or human capital (education, skills, and labour market position; Sridharan 2004) has a most influential role in the enlargement and reconfiguration of this intermediate social bracket (Deshpande 2003). For Deshpande (2003), cultural capital encompassed competing but often simultaneously lived identities (such as based on caste, region and community) and skills (educational qualifications, linguistic or other soft skills) (Sridharan 2004). Yet, he highlighted that in addition to cultural capital, middle classes needed to avail themselves of economic and political power as well, and did so (in Sridharan 2004). Others argued for the primordial role of employment status and occupation, however, with other elements of economic and cultural capital still remaining significant (e.g. Béteille 1991). Another way of conceptualizing middle class is visible in an all-India survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in 1996 (Sheth 1999). The survey delineated the Indian middle-class in a complex but intuitive way, combining objective and subjective elements. The objective aspects of middle class were based on a mixture of economic and cultural capital, together with labour market embeddedness. In this sense, to be a member of the middle class, participants needed to

> own at least two out of the following: (i) 10 years or more of schooling [educational capital], (ii) ownership of at least three assets out of four: motor vehicle, television, electric pumping, non-agricultural land [economic resources], (iii) residence in a brick and cement house [mainly economic resources], (iv) white collar job [labour market position] (Sheth 1999: 2509).

The subjective aspect required self-affiliation with the middle class, and a simultaneous rejection of membership in the working class. Demarcating class through individual subjectivities is an important part of the stratification process, as it recognises the fact that class is often constructed on the basis of individuals' or families' (or others') own perceptions and understandings of class (Kelly 2012). As Bourdieu noted, 'class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being' (1984: 483). Interestingly, based on the described survey, one fifth of the population was established as members of the middle class

(Sheth 1999). This testifies to a significant growth in the Indian middle class, which at Independence comprised only a small portion of society (Béteille 2003).

2.4.4 Caste

As 'it remains virtually impossible to examine social life in India without some understanding of caste as a distinct category' (Stroope 2012), this section 2.4.6 will briefly explore the powerful social concept of caste in Indian contexts.

Caste is popularly viewed (Jodhka 2017) as an enduring hierarchical system of ascribed (Bhatt et al. 2010; Vaid 2014) social stratification, also described as the 'varna-jati' system. It is believed to emanate from the most pervasive Hindu religious beliefs emphasizing the importance of, beside others, *varna* (Jodhka 2017). The idea of varna (originally) ascribed Hindus to four vertically arranged, 'mutually exclusive' (Jodhka 2017) social groups, with Brahmins (mainly priests and doctors) located at the top of the system, followed by Kshatriyas (mainly kings and soldiers), Vaishyas (mainly businessmen), and finally, Shudras (mainly artisans and also manual workers) positioned at the bottom of the social ladder. A fifth group was also perceived outside such categorisation, the 'achhoots' or untouchables, which embodied the impure, the polluted in the religious ideology formulated around dichotomies of purity and pollution (Jodhka 2017). Many argued that such an oversimplified approach to the caste system became widely accepted in the colonial period as a quintessentially Indian construction (Samarendra 2011). Weber (1958), nevertheless, did not see caste as something specifically unique to India (this view was upheld by Jodhka (2012) in relation to urban parts of India, also by Srinivas (2002) with regard rural India, as well). He saw it rather as a social division along status lines, defined by 'the social estimation of honour' and 'style of life', which 'benchmarks' can be found in other societies, as well (Vaid 2014). Along this line, others demonstrated that caste-like divisions were not only present amongst Hindus (as has generally been believed) but also within other religious communities such as Muslims (e.g. Bhatty 1996) or Christians (Tharamangalam 1996). Furthermore, they are also present in the neighbouring South Asian countries of Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Jodhka and Shah 2010; Vaid 2014). The above four-tier division of caste continues to be ambiguous. As empirical ethnographic studies demonstrated, castes were further divided into sub-castes (jatis) and sub-sub-castes that greatly impacted complicated the schematic four-layer system in practice (Vaid 2014). Also, considerable differences in

the vast and varying Indian geographies shaped the system and its applicability, making caste impossible to denote as a standard all-Indian construction (Vaid 2014).

Many have attempted to capture the essence of caste, and that of the caste system. The caste system has often been expounded through its strict vertical hierarchy (Dumont 1970) and religious-ritual nature centred around the opposites of the 'pure' and 'impure' (Dumont 1970). Rituality was believed to be the most fundamental element of the system by many, where rituality meant 'rootedness of caste behaviour and organisation in the religious ideology and practices' (Sheth 1999: 2504). In practice, ritualized rules and sanctions for non-observance sustained enduring social stratification (Gupta 2005). Nevertheless, others viewed difference as the caste system's key feature (Gupta 1991). Jodhka (2017) identified three major perspectives from which the concept of caste had been investigated: through (i) tradition, (ii) power politics, or as (iii) an institutionalised form of oppression of others. He added that although these were the main prisms through which caste was generally observed, investigating the system's facts and everyday effects such as social, economic and cultural inequalities and violence were even more pressing (Jodhka 2017). Another influential scholar, Béteille, saw caste as a formation

> characterised by endogamy, hereditary membership, and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system (1965: 46).

In a more recent writing, he saw the essence of caste in power, and in particular in the ability of the upper, or more recently 'dominant' (Srinivas 1955) castes, to physically exercise controlling power over lower castes and untouchables (1996). A tangible feature of caste is its link with specific occupations which has its origins in the principal idea around the subcategories of jatis, being its association with occupation (Béteille 1991, Srinivas 1996). Caste is also a political concept (Sheth 1999; Vaid 2014), especially since the 1950s when specific (sub)castes secured Constitutional status having been enshrined in the Indian Constitution, such as the so-called Scheduled Castes (SC) (a conglomerate of mainly former untouchable sub-castes) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) (some isolated tribes). These groups enjoy preferential treatment (affirmative actions, reservations) due to their recognised long-standing negative treatment and discrimination in society. The positive advantages of the above groups were later expanded to the so-called Other Backward Classes (OBC), as well, which stands for a complex list of castes and communities that were formerly mainly Shudras, and which are considered 'backward' from social, economic, or educational

perspectives (Vaid 2014). Caste, finally and importantly, is understood as an identity. The origins of class identity rest, in the view of Weber (1968), in a hierarchical form of ethnicity status, or as Natarajan (2011) believes, in cultural difference.

A commonly held perception about caste centres around the system's rigidity and non-permeability. This view could even be bolstered by studies on social mobility, including recent ones, which describe a more or less stable Indian social order where professional upward mobility is bounded (Deshpande & Palshikar 2008; Vaid 2014). Despite this, many voices have been contesting the view of immobility (cf. Srinivas 1996). A strand of the literature recognised the possibility of upward social mobility across castes and began using the term Sanskritization (Srinivas 1956) to denote this phenomenon. Such a process can happen in various ways, for instance as a form of cultural mobility (Charsley 1998), in the course of which lower castes imitate cultural practices and rituals linked to upper castes in an attempt to move upwards both in status and economic standing (Vaid 2014). However, the interiorization of cultural practices of upper castes may not be sufficient to ascend the social status ladder, as these had to be embedded in local power systems (Jodhka 1997), whilst, in parallel, the aspiring caste's economic standing and political influence also needs to be strengthened (Jayaram 1996).

Nevertheless, by now it is widely accepted that the caste system has been constantly changing (as is natural to all social formations). Such changes occur at different rates contingent on socio-economic contexts and temporalities. It has been experiencing a more rapid change since the late 19th century with the occurrence of modernisation and urbanisation. However, following India's independence from colonial rule, the caste system has been witnessing deep changes. Some perceived such transformations as mere 'functional adjustments' of the system itself (described in Sheth 1990). Others identified particular triggers to these changes. For instance, Sheth (1999) posited that the erosion of the caste system could be associated with three important social changes occurring in modern India: de-ritualisation, politicisation and classisation. According to him, there has been an irreversible process of de-ritualisation which renders the caste system devoid of most of its ideological support system. Under politicisation, he understood the emerging institutionalised political and interest representation power of lower castes and their political consciousness (cf. Krishna's 2003 empirical study on some north Indian villages where at the level of political organisation, caste has lost its primordial role to economic considerations which have become tangibly more significant). Thus, in an endeavour to gain political and social acceptance vis-à-vis the state, lower castes have forged new, horizontally

organised local and national associations, which have begun to challenge the idea of ritual purity and pollution and the social hierarchy based on such ideology. These politically engaged masses have also adopted a new type of collective identity, that of the oppressed, which has been competing with caste identity (Sheth 1999). While under classisation, Sheth referred to the process of acquiring a new, middle-class identity which becomes similarly powerful to caste identity. Many argued, the caste system would be gradually and naturally overwritten (see Srinivas (2003) for an 'obituary' on caste as a system) by other social classificatory constructions capturing different forms of inequalities, such as class. In particular, as

> [T]here is a wide-spread assumption that caste system's present is a result of incomplete modernization of India's economy and its cultural values, and that as the process of development matures, caste is bound to disappear on its own (Jodhka 2017: 3).

All in all, it is a widely upheld view in the literature that there have been deep-rooted changes in the caste system leading to its fundamental transformation. This includes the weakening of its previous ability to primordially (re)configure social power structures, at least primarily as an ideology (Harriss 2012). Nevertheless, caste advantages continue to exist (Desai and Kulkarni 2008), as Sheth sees it, the system continues to exist as 'micro-communities based on kinship sentiments and relationships' (1999: 2508). Also, very prominently, caste identities strongly persist (Gupta 2005; Krishna 2003).

As caste is increasingly juxtaposed, popularly conflated (Stroope 2012), or linked with class, and especially the middle class, the next section 2.4.7 will briefly investigate the relationship between (middle) class and caste in India.

2.4.5 (Middle) Class and Caste

When talking about India, class and caste are often conflated (Stroope 2013). In many instances, the two social categories are juxtaposed as if they were dichotomies, where caste stood for tradition while class evoked modernity (Sheth 1999). However, the connection between caste and class remains more complex with transcending boundaries and multiple overlaps between the concepts.

In a simplified way, class, as viewed by Weber (1978), is an 'economically determined' concept. This stands in contrast with the inherent substance of caste, which, at least

according to Weber, is a social position built on 'status', demarcated by the particular group of people's lifestyle and 'the positive or negative social estimation of honour' (p. 932). Class is primarily viewed as economically determined, i.e. being 'a function of economic order' (Jodhka 2017), or the aggregate of 'economic relations and different ways of appropriating or distributing surplus labour' (Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Also, in an Indian context, class is sometimes considered as a 'social category of western societies' (Sheth 1999: 2503), although this could be strongly argued against. As already mentioned, there have been numerous major causes for the reconfiguration of the caste system. The wake of modernism, which generated mass internal migratory moves to bigger urban centres from the 19th century onwards, and more recently in the post-independence era, especially from 1990 onwards, all contributed to the reconceptualization and repositioning of caste within society. It also triggered the recognition of existence, and later the thickening of the middle layers of society, that of the middle classes, which is a globally identified phenomenon of liberalized and globally positioned economies (Parker 2009).

Also, as described in section 2.4.4 on Caste, with the large-scale organisation of the lower castes into associations and movements advancing their political interest, some social groups (such as the SC, ST and the OBC) managed to secure educational and labour market advantages. The reservation policy of the Indian state actively contributed to the accumulation of their cultural and human capital (this latter comprising the triumvirate of education, expertise and skills) (Bardhan 1994), and also their social capital. Such activated resources in turn could be transformed into economic capital. These (Bourdieusian) forms of capital, together with the growing political power of these social groups, made it possible for an increasingly significant mass of individuals to enter the range of the middle classes. In addition, caste's 'politicisation' (Sheth 1999) prepared the ground for a new, horizontally constructed socio-political identification. The newly emerged class identities began to operate in parallel to or in competition with other, including caste-based, identities (Sheth 1999). Sheth called this process classisation, when

> (a) they [caste members] become distant from ritual roles and functions attached to their caste, (b) acquire another, but new, identity of belonging to the middle-class, (c) their economic interest and lifestyle converge more with other members of the middle class than with their non-middle class caste compatriots (p. 2509).

Also, a highly important social change was the basic transformation of the fairly rigid occupational structure of society that was based on the hereditary social allocation of occupation, inherent to the caste system. Previously, castes could to a great extent be equated

with occupational groups. However, with the liberalization of the economy and the newly appeared employment avenues of the globalised Indian economy, the former occupational structures of society underwent deep changes. The link connecting the inherited ritual status with occupation, which was the caste system's major feature, was severed; instead, today the 'crucial consideration is what brings a good income to the individual' (Sheth 1999: 2504). At the same time, many 'non-traditional', non-caste based occupations came into being which reconfigured social relations within and across castes through such occupational formations (Sheth 1999). These fundamental social rearrangements made the boundaries of caste and class permeable for many. Economic strengthening of vast groups of people also brought about newer ways of life, with the emergence of a more conspicuous consumerism (Fernandes 2000). Some scholars argue that consumerism, in its turn, is a definitive feature of the new middle classes, sometimes denominated as the 'consuming class' (e.g. Corbridge and Harriss 2000; Deshpande 2003).

Caste and class continue to shape individuals' everyday lives and social positions in peculiarly intertwined and complementary ways. Many argue that caste has retreated into the domain of social (cf. Seth 1999; Krishna 2003) or ethno-cultural identification (Natrajan 2011), while class supersedes it in many of the more 'mundane', mainly economically driven aspects of individual lives (Krishna 2003). Nevertheless, others continue to emphasize caste's salience to or complementarity with class, and especially the inequalities informed by the caste system (Jodhka 2017) and leveraged to the class system. Also, caste and its link with many aspects of power continue to generate advantages in India's highly unequal society (Desai and Kulkarni 2008). For instance, as Sheth (1999) revealed, based on the already mentioned all-India survey conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies in 1996, the upper castes together with the 'dominant' landowner castes still predominate within the middle class. Although it has also been identified that half of the middle class is populated by socially ascending lower castes, which is a remarkable change, since, as Sridharan (2004) estimated, 15 or 20 years ago, nearly the entirety of the middle class would have been consisted of upper and rich farmer castes. Also, it has been observed that higher castes still prevail in higher earning pockets of the labour market, for instance in the IT sector, despite the non-traditional and thus non-caste based (as some argue, 'caste-blind' (Jodhka 2017) nature of such occupations (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007). This can also be attributed to the upper castes' more powerful cultural capital, including good English knowledge, together with social skills, creating labour market advantages (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007). This can be viewed especially through the 'educational consciousness' prism to which Caplan (1987) drew our attention. He established caste as a marked

framework for a type of highly conscious socialisation of higher caste children regarding their educational choices, particularly as education has an eminent role in opportunities for upward social mobility, especially for women (Vaid 2016). Such educational consciousness leads to better career choices and to a greater number of higher caste individuals occupying professional middle-class jobs (Caplan 1987). On the psychological side, caste informs individual aspirations, together with the potential to realize such aspiration, as well (Sheth 1999). To summarise, as Jodhka put it,

> even in regions where change in social and economic domain of rural life has been quite radical, and the older order of caste has nearly disintegrated, caste-based divisions and inequalities continue to matter and often overlap with the emergent disparities of the new economy, both rural and urban. Caste matters in multiple ways and in different spheres of social, economic and political life, sometimes visibly, sometimes not so visibly (2017: 3).

Thus, the above described formative power of caste strongly informs the abilities, aspirations and realities of people in positioning and embedding themselves in the class system.

2.4.6 Types of Capital Informing Class

Nevertheless, other distinctions such as cultural, social, political, economic, symbolic (Bourdieu 1986), ethnic (Cutler et al. 2005) or human capital can greatly alter one's class position, solely construed based on wealth and income. Bourdieu's theory on the transformation, transposition and validation of different types of capitals (cultural, social, economic and in cases symbolic) and its interpretations by scholars are frequently used in migration related research. Bourdieu argued that social stratification resulted from uneven allocation of the different types of capital (Bourdieu 1986, Nowicka 2013). He employed the term capital 'in a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields' (Grenfell 2008). The principle of convertibility of the capitals into one another is situated at the centre of his capital theory. The notion of capital is often conflated with other terms such as resources, assets, ties, bonds, networks, etc. However, as some academics pointed out, capital was not the mere synonym of these latter (e.g. Erel 2010). For instance, Anthias (2007) argued that [social] capital should be exclusively used to depict 'mobilisable' networks and resources, i.e. those, which are useful in gaining social advantage. This was in line with Bourdieu's idea on the possibility of converting one type of capital into another,

while ‘resources’ remained merely the building blocks of capital and as such were not directly fungible. Bourdieu and Wacquant, however, accentuated that not only was the composition of the different types of capital in a person’s overall capital (Erel 2010) determinative, but to a great extent the person’s ‘position-taking’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2007:99) i.e. the individual strategies in making use of their different types of capital, was also crucial. As I will use such types of capital in that part of my research that is related to the participants’ class position, I will describe Bourdieu’s capital theory in more detail below under the labels of the different forms of ‘Bourdieusian’ capital, i.e. economic, social, cultural and symbolic, together with ethnic and human capital that are similarly widely employed in the migration literature.

(i) Economic Capital

Economic capital is arguably the most unequivocal form of capital. It stands for financial resources, assets, rights (e.g. wages, property ownership) which can be ‘immediately and directly convertible into money’ (Bourdieu 1986: 243) as opposed to other types of capital. Economic capital, in Bourdieu’s understanding, is the driver of all forms of capital, since the attainment in social and cultural capital is highly informed by the availability and extent of economic capital. Although economic capital indeed is often overvalued in various social settings, Bourdieu aimed to keep a state of equilibrium by not according ‘determinate and determinant causal efficacy’ (Savage et al. 2005) to it to the detriment of other types of capital.

(ii) Social Capital

Social capital seems to be the most researched type of capital in the migration scholarship (e.g. Coleman 1988; Portes 1998; Putnam 2000; Anthias 2007). It is the ‘sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). As such it covers ‘contacts and group memberships which, through the accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities, provide actual or potential support and access to valued resources’ (Bourdieu 1993: 143). This concept refers to a person’s capability to gain advantages by being part of a social group or structure such as networks, and by mobilising such networks (Portes 1998; Anthias 2007; Ryan et al. 2008, 2009). He further explained that a person’s social capital depended on many factors, ‘on the size of the network, of connections he can effectively mobilize, and on

the volume by each of those to whom he is connected' (Bourdieu 1986: 249). Mutuality of relationships and recognition by the participants in such networks are core to the ability to operate them (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2007). The cited definition implies a complex and often ambivalent constitution of the notion. It presupposes a certain degree of embeddedness into various social structures from which, beside others, both positive ('exchanges') and negative ('obligations') increments can emanate. Portes (1998) highlighted the necessity to consider the 'downsides' of social capital, as well, when exploring the notion.

Other influential social scientists also attempted to capture the essence of the concept of social capital. Coleman and Putnam theorised along the lines of a Durkheimian structure-based approach. Their main concern with the notion, however, derived primarily not from the inequalities that emerged with the uneven use of social capital. They conceptualised its meaning in a community and solidarity-centred way, accentuating the primordial role of the family and community ties. Coleman (1988), for instance, believed that social capital offered by the community and family was paramount for the 'creation of human capital'. He emphasised the nature of social closure, the closed and entwined networks and relations operating on the basis of reciprocity and trust (Cederberg 2012). Similarly, Putnam (2000) also attributed great significance to social capital for an individual, however not so much for the creation of human capital but rather for one's social accomplishment. He identified two forms of social capital, 'bonding' and 'bridging ties' which served as a tool for many researchers mapping migrant networks (e.g. Ryan et al. 2008). In his comprehension, 'bonding ties are identificational and close knit solidary ties, whilst bridging ties are ties which are looser and more associational'. He argued that holding bridging ties was more rewarding, especially when 'achieving' in society, while bonding ties rather provided for subsisting. The boundaries of these two groups however remain fluid and are carved out by the specific contexts of use. By emphasising social structures, however, Coleman and Putnam failed to contextualise the concept in existing social hierarchies and remained insensitive to the power imbalances and heterogeneities within communities and families, especially to power relations linked to gender and class position (Anthias 2007), which was already present in Bourdieu's approach. Moreover, the simplistic dichotomous structure of the 'bonding/bridging ties' failed to allow full investigation of the structural complexity of social capital (Bruegel, 2005; Raghuram et al., 2010), including the shifting spatialities and temporalities that migrants experience (Ryan et al. 2008). However, it still constitutes a useful tool to map social integration at the local level (Zetter et al. 2006). Interestingly, both Coleman and Putnam found that migration undermined social capital instead of enhancing it. They pointed out that the ties and bonds formed in the country of origin would mainly be

lost or too far away to be able to make use of them following migration. This idea could be convincing, especially before the arrival of globalised channels of communication and establishment of truly transnational ways of life. However, others did not view the loosening of social ties and bonds as a negative process, accentuating for instance the gradual decrease in familial or kin obligations, which in some cases were rather burdensome and potentially conflictual for female migrants and younger generations (Anthias et al. 2006).

Although Portes (1998) took a more temperate stance, he likewise argued for social capital as a structure. However, as already stated, he noted that social capital had a coercive nature as well. It could operate as a source of social control, besides being a support through for instance family or extra-familial networks. This idea was carried forward by Anthias (2007) when she identified two ways of mobilizing social resource based on the agency of the actor: (i) enhancing the position of advantage in the social hierarchical structure ('positively advantaged social capital'), and (ii) mitigating disadvantages by establishing strategies to cope with new obstacles ('negatively advantaged social capital'). It is worth noting that, similarly to economic capital, the social capital of a household member can be available to other household members as well, just as class position can also be understood in the frame of both the individual and the wider family (Kelly 2012). Thus, social capital may not only be linked to individual migrants but also to larger entities such as the household or kin (Raghuram 2006, 2008; Ryan et al. 2009; Nee and Sanders 2001). This argument is bolstered by empirical research that showed that migrants were likely to rely on networks established by family members or friends, already settled in the country of destination (Bevelander and Pendakur 2009).

(iii) Ethnic Capital

Although not articulated as such in Bourdieu's works, the concept of ethnic ties as a form of social capital appeared in numerous pieces of research (e.g. Granovetter 1973, 1985; Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Anthias 2007; Shah 2007; Cederberg 2012) either under this name or as part of social capital. Ethnic capital could be summarised as a 'set of individual attributes, cultural norms, and group-specific institutions that contribute to an ethnic group's economic productivity' (Cutler et al. 2005: 206). One of the main premises of this strand of the literature was that it assumed that culture was ethnically shaped. From this ensued that being a member of an ethnic community *per se* conferred some kind of social capital or at least social resources. This viewpoint was informed by the belief that ethnic communities were

clear-cut, homogeneous and enduring constructs. In reality, however, ethnic communities are far from being homogeneous (Anthias 2007; Yuval-Davis 2006); they are divided according to major social differences such as class, gender, age, dialect, etc. (Shah 2007; Erel 2010; Parameshwaran and Engzell 2014). Thus, Erel (2010) argued against the use of the concept as it defined culture as 'ethnically bounded' (p. 645) and the crosscutting markers of difference had thus been diminished. Its meaning is also under constant evolution, both temporally inter- and intra-generation and spatially (Fischer, 1986; Lutz, 1995; Erel, 2009). Recent work has drawn attention to the need to contextualise the notion within social hierarchies and social differences (Anthias 2007), and also to look beyond ethnic networks by recognising the relevance of wider social contexts (Raghuram et al. 2010; Cederberg 2012).

(iv) Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is another major type of capital in the Bourdieusian capital framework. He distinguished between three forms of cultural capital: embodied, objectified and institutionalised cultural capital. The embodied cultural capital represents a person's durable predispositions, tendencies, and deep-rooted habits. It is gained by being a member of a specific community/society and being exposed for a longer time to certain behavioural patterns, beliefs, norms which remain engrained and embodied in an individual, mainly unconsciously (e.g. through body language, behavioural choices, taste). Objectified cultural capital on the other hand, as its name suggests, stands for objectified, material pieces of culture (e.g. pieces of art in a museum, books). The notion of institutionalised capital, finally, is used mainly for cultural capital gained through formal education (e.g. educational qualifications, degrees, language knowledge), although informal education also conveys a significant bulk of cultural capital but is acquired in less institutionalised social arenas such as the family or peer group. A common feature of all types of cultural capital is that it takes a longer time and considerable effort, learning and exposure to acquire them (Bourdieu 2006:107). This is in contrast with, for instance, economic capital, which in general can be gained over a much shorter time span (e.g. sale of a flat, income from a well-paying job).

The role of cultural capital in migration studies is somewhat under-researched as opposed to that of social capital. Some research emphasizes the more or less successful transferability of cultural capital acquired in the country of origin to the new environment of the host country. Zhou (2005:134) for instance noted that 'different ethnic groups possess identifiable characteristics, encompassing cultural values, practices … that were formed in the homeland

and transplanted with minor modifications by immigrants in the new land and there transmitted and perpetuated from generation to generation'. This approach, which assumed existence of an easily deployed homogenous cultural capital, has since been challenged, the more so as cultural capital is embedded and operates differently in specific contexts which can hinder its simple transportation from one social system to another (Erel 2010). Moreover, the skills, knowledge, experience, which were acquired in the home country, may not be appropriate and applicable in the host country (Nagel 2005). Erel (2010) critiqued the simplistic and unrealistic 'rucksack approach' (p. 642), which treated cultural capital as a package acquired in the home country and later unwrapped as if from a rucksack and deployed in an 'as is' condition in the host country. In the long process of migration, migrants create a specific 'migration-specific' cultural capital (p. 642) which cannot be equated with the cultural capital brought over in their 'rucksack', but which forms the bulk of their cultural capital allowing them to navigate their life in the host country. Migrants acquire a certain savoir-faire, a route to manage their life (Scott 2000), which could also be viewed as a distinct type of cultural capital.

(v) Human Capital

With the diversification of the entry routes of female migration and thus the shifting weight from family migration to other forms of migration, e.g. labour and study migration, Bourdieu's concept of capital is gaining a foothold in the management and human resources literature, as well. This latter focuses on expatriation/international assignment of migrants (Al Ariss and Syed 2011, Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005 as referred in Al Ariss and Syed 2011). In this set of literature, the term 'human capital' is more frequently used than cultural capital. Although the two terms have many aspects in common, based on the general understanding of the research corpus (Schultz 1971; Becker 1993; Chiswick 2005), human capital has been used to describe qualifications, directly work-related qualities and resources that can be used to negotiate career benefits. These mainly include institutionalised cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications and language knowledge, and to a certain extent embodied cultural capital to the extent it can be valorised in the labour market. Nee and Sanders (2001) noted that human capital was a more precise concept than cultural capital, which might have accounted for its wider use despite its narrower coverage. Nevertheless, they also agreed that the concept 'missed important dimensions of cultural competence'.

However, as we have seen with the notion of cultural capital in general, the value of human

capital is determined by its context. Its transferability is 'imperfect' (Friedberg 2000) and depends on both the social structures of the host country and the migrants' agency (Chiswick et al. 2005). Some hail human capital as the elixir to smooth entry in the labour market of the destination country (in line with skill-based immigration policies of major migrant destination countries of the global North). For instance, Chiswick (1979) argued that it was easier to find work in a host country where one's human capital had a high value, including good knowledge of the host country language. Although his argument seemed plausible, he did not take into account certain other, typically structural causes impeding smooth labour market integration. His views were critiqued as slightly simplistic, for instance, by Csedo (2008) who posited that language knowledge did not necessarily led to better jobs or to better quality living conditions, but the lack of language knowledge definitely hampered communication and validation of one's skills in the host society.

Opinions are divided as to elements of human capital that lead to better labour market integration. Some believed that skills which can be used internationally were more easily transferable than country-specific skills (Chapman and Iredale 1993). Others looked at general skills (obtained through formal training) and specific skills (acquired through practical, labour market training) and found that although specific skills could be important, general skills remained more easily transposable across the borders (Chiswick et al. 2005). Nevertheless, the time and country of acquisition of educational qualifications remain very important. Studying labour market incorporation of immigrants in Israel, Friedberg (2000) found that education acquired after immigration in general led to a higher return on the host country labour market, as opposed to education solely acquired abroad. She posited that the origin of a qualification and labour market experience in the host country was decisive in determining a person's labour market value and thus labour market 'assimilation'. She argued that although human capital could not be perfectly transferred across borders, the acquisition of a qualification in the host country to a certain extent enabled migrants to transform the skills acquired in their countries of origin into useful skills on the host country's labour market. Alongside this line of thought, however, Purkhayastha (2005) highlighted that the recognition of foreign qualifications was not only based on the geographical location of their acquisition but was highly contingent on the current needs of a specific host country labour market, i.e. on immigration regulations of the host countries, as is highlighted elsewhere in this chapter (literature review). This can lead to over-valuation of qualifications obtained in specific areas such as medicine, science, ICT to the detriment of other qualifications, for instance doctoral degrees in the social sciences. Similarly, the prestige of the organisation operating on the labour market also impacted on the

transferability of the home credentials, in a sense that more prestigious organisations may not accept foreign qualifications but only native ones (Kofman et al. 2000; Woo 2000).

(vi) Symbolic Capital

Finally, there exists a type of capital, symbolic capital, which is not widely used in the migration literature. Under this term, Bourdieu referred to authority and power gained through or emanating from acquisition and even more, aggregation of any of the other types of capital. Symbolic capital acts therefore as a type of meta-capital, as it is necessary for the legitimation or positive assessment of specific types of capital in order to convey power from them (Al Ariss and Syed 2011).

2.4.7 Other Determinants of Class

Class can also be reconstituted through what Bourdieu called habitus (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010), a set of embodied dispositions rooted in cultural capital. Furthermore, to gain a more refined understanding of class position, the psychological dimension of the concept also needs to be explored and acknowledged as a formative class component (Reay 2008). In the light of what has been written in this section on Class, it can be argued that class emerges as a dynamic concept, impacted by various aspects of resources and capital, including the weighty determinant of economic capital (Lawler 2005). Nevertheless, and especially in relation to migration, the temporal dimension of class also becomes momentous. Thus, current class position, experienced in the country of destination, must be assessed in the light of this temporal aspect (Wright 2005).

2.4.8 Class and Skills

Class position often determines movement (Kofman and Raghuram 2015), in particular labour migration, through the deployment of previously acquired skills (Kofman and Raghuram 2006). Skills form entry conditions in many Western countries, such as the US, Canada and Australia, and for non-EEA citizens in the UK as well. Although migration has long been viewed as the prerogative of the wealthy or, as Sklair (2001) put it, of the 'global elite of the transnational capitalist class' (and to a certain extent it still is), the practice of skill-based immigration control contributes to class being interchangeably used with skills in both sending and receiving societies (Kofman and Raghuram 2006). In particular, as skills

are embodiments of mainly economic, but also of cultural and social resources, while it is overwhelmingly economic capital that enables accumulation of other types of capital. Thus, migration is as an intrinsically class-based act (Barber and Lem 2008). Also, the aspiration to move upwards in class hierarchies (Mapril 2014), or even to secure a stationary class position in contexts where class position is jeopardised and potentially eroded, lead many to embark on a migratory move (Limpangog 2013; Kofman and Raghuram 2015). Skills have been discussed in more detail in section 1.2.1 of this thesis.

2.5 Role of the City

2.5.1 The City in the Social Sciences

Social scientists have taken an interest in the role of urban spaces in constructing human relations from as early as the inception of sociology (with Durkheim, Marx, Weber or Tönnies, just to mention the most prominent early thinkers). Since then, the city has been continuing to attract (interdisciplinary) attention with its fundamental power to shape relationships, behaviours, and identities, and at the same time to be shaped by human communities living in such spaces. In an era of heightened internal and international migration, where cities figure both as home and host environments, it is ever more pressing to investigate their role in social relations, including in integration both in 'pre-' and 'post-migration' times.

The city has been historically seen as a lived and imagined space that emerges as the outcome of compound and constant reshuffling and cementing of economic, social, cultural, and political power (Yeoh 2006: 150). Bigger cities, 'global cities' (Sassen 1991), or 'mega-cities' (Castells 1996) are bigger geographical locales that have developed into global nodes of trade, certain types of services, and innovation, as opposed to solely relying on the traditional attributes of urban industrialised areas, such as manufacturing. Their population is tangibly linked to global economic forces and financial power (Castells 1996). Besides these aspects, bigger cities are also often home to extremely diverse demographical topographies, with an extraordinarily composite social, cultural, and financial, etc. configuration.

2.5.2 Transnationalism

With their prospects of betterment, cities have been attracting internal and international migrants for a long time. International migrants who settle and occupy host country cities, however, do not only appropriate the different spaces that cities may offer. They also engage in activities, processes and practices that extend across nation-state borders, which since the 1990s have been increasingly referred to in the migration and migrant incorporation literature as transnationalism (cf. Basch et al. 1994; Faist 2000a, b; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Guarnizo and Smith 1998; Itzigsohn et al. 1999, Kivisto 2001, Levitt 2001). Transnationalism has been viewed as a heuristic tool, in particular as it embraces the idea of looking beyond nation-state borders, which had been the canonised analytical lens in migration studies for decades (Wimmer and Schiller 2003). Also, by transcending containment in the nation-state, it acknowledges the plurality of migrants' affiliations.

Although the key concept of transnational social space is thought to be a space that crosscuts nation-state borders, much of the research corpus still studies those transnational practices usually performed in the host country. To counter such a one-sided approach focusing on host societies, new transnational studies have emerged advancing the use of cosmopolitan (e.g. Appadurai 1996; for a concise review of the literature on cosmopolitanism, please see section 2.5.6 below) or multi-sited ethnographies (e.g. Burawoy 2003, Fitzgerald 2006, Marcus 1995, or more recently, Falzon 2016). These call for the study of a wider scope of contexts by investigating both home and host contexts, and also other sites in the transnational social field (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). However, according to Mazzucato (2007), the above methodologies fail to combine the various social spaces into one truly transnational social field, as they primarily consider host country settings, whilst home or third country contexts remain the 'source of background information' (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007: 143). Nevertheless, newer studies try to overcome such a methodological shortfall and focus equally on home country contexts. For instance, in her recent research on skilled Polish migrants in the UK, Nowicka (2014) argued for the need to consider both home and host country contexts to understand the way Polish migrants 'define, acquire and valorise' their skills in the UK, especially as these had implications on how such skills were mobilised in the UK, and also on the migrants' perception of their possible successful labour market embeddedness in the host country. In a more recent study on trans-border career trajectories of post-Soviet women professionals in London, Olga Crețu (2017) invited us to look beyond host country contexts and, equally importantly, explore home country life histories which could have repercussions on host country labour market incorporation. She also suggested taking into account that migrants came from bigger urban centres which may have informed their less problematic integration in the social space of the city of London. In addition, since

those migrants who are situated in transnational social fields often perform transnational activities in both home and host societies, it is important to explore home country contexts, as well (Kelly and Lusis 2006; Nowicka 2012, 2014).

Even though scholarship on transnationalism often focuses on transnational activities of migrants living in cities, its epistemological optic has been recently challenged by transnational urbanism (e.g. Smith 2001), and trans-localism (cf. Brickell and Datta 2012). These geographical approaches view transnationalism as a 'deterritorialized' concept that concentrates primarily on processes evoked through transborder social connections (Glick Schiller 2005) and monetary exchanges (Brickell and Datta 2012).

2.5.3 Transnational Urbanism

Transnational urbanism considers urban spaces as nodes of power and providers of socio-spatial habitats with 'distanciated yet situated possibilities for constituting and reconstituting' (Smith 2001) transnational social connections. The key focal point of transnational urbanism remains social embeddedness and social connections, and transborder practices are generally initiated in/from host societies. Nevertheless, the approach recognizes the emerging importance of physical spaces of the city and locality in individuals' lives (Conradson and Latham 2005). A relatively recent approach within this strand of literature investigates the impact of space, in particular urban space and the city, on host society incorporation experience (Brettell 2006; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). Bommes and Radtke (1996) studied migration patterns in German cities of various sizes and the way the respective local governments dealt with the newly experienced organisational and welfare issues emanating from in-migration. Rex (2013) also focused on large host country cities, as these were thought to be situated at the most optimum, 'meso' organisational level to address issues and develop policies related to immigrant integration. As these pieces of research scrutinise host country cities, they overlook pre-migration histories of life in similar localities, and their possible influence on incorporation in host country cities. There is a need to acknowledge the intricate relation between place and the impact of transnational migration on host societies (Rogers 2005: 406), including the influence of migrants on urban spaces (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009). In particular, since these places are embodiments of the local with their 'material, embodied, and corporeal qualities … where situatedness is experienced' (Brickell and Datta 2012: 6).

2.5.4 Translocalism

Translocalism, 'rooted transnationalism' (Katz 2001), or as Mitchell (1997) called it 'grounded transnationalism', has as its focal point on physical places or locales. The concept gained increasing prominence in geographical research on transnationalism (cf. Freitag and von Oppen 2010, Grillo and Riccio 2004, Katz 2001, McFarlane 2009, Smart and Lin 2007). For Oakes and Schein, translocality is a concept that

> deliberately confuses the boundaries of the local in an effort to capture the increasingly complicated nature of spatial processes and identities, yet it insists on viewing such processes and identities as place-based rather than exclusively mobile, uprooted or 'travelling' (2006: 20).

As such it provides for a 'simultaneous situatedness … of human agency and mobility through variegated spaces and places across nations, regions, cities, neighbourhoods, buildings and bodies' (Brickell and Datta 2012: 7). Places are specific physical venues where social encounters between migrants and non-migrants take place (Brickell and Datta 2012: 6). These encounters are negotiated by migrants through previous migration histories, particular mental approaches, and individual markers of difference such as ethnicity and gender (Silvey and Lawson 1999). Despite the concept's 'agency optic', which is gaining more weight in current host country integration theories (Chaudhary 2016), Brickell and Datta (2012) posited that the relationship of migrants with spaces as lived and embodied realities of everyday life has not yet been given adequate research focus. Also, even though translocalism and transnational urbanism consider simultaneity of material and immaterial connection with spaces and places, in general they remain grounded in host society and host country city existence. Thus, home country spaces and places receive little attention in such scholarship, or simply take a secondary place among the various types of material and immaterial connections of migrants living in host societies. This is surprising, the more so as cities have a significant role in the process of social, cultural, political and economic integration of migrants that come from varied ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious backgrounds, financial positions, and educational levels (Giddens and Sutton 2013: 238). Furthermore, the dynamics between home country city life and its likely impact on host city everyday realities remain poorly understood.

2.5.5 Superdiversity

As mentioned, the city is seen as a magnet hub for both internal and international migrants. Due to international migration, the make-up of host country cities has been intrinsically altered in recent decades. With the growth in both scale and pace of international and internal migration, the already diverse cities have become even more diverse. 'Diversification of diversity' (Hollinger 1995) has become a basic attribute (Padilla et al. 2015), if not the norm, of many host societies and cities. Cities frequently appear in the literature as localities where superdiversity (Vertovec 2007) acts as a powerful framework for creating, shaping, recreating, and discarding aspects of corporeal and subjective lives of both 'natives' and migrants. They are thriving multicultural settings where (super-)diversity is part of everyday life and is viewed as normal, particularly by newly arrived migrants. They are the very locales where superdiversity can be experienced in a condensed form. As Brickell and Datta put it,

> cities become sites of encounters with those who are different from oneself and they provide spatial contexts in which specific attitudes and behaviours towards others are produced and practised. Attitudes such as these towards 'others' are shaped by the triviality of conducting everyday practices of living and working, by 'building bridges of cooperation across difference' (Sandercock 1998) (2012: 16-17).

The notion of superdiversity came into being to recognise the compound and overly diverse realities caused by 'a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced', particularly in terms of 'recently emergent demographic and social patterns' (Vertovec 2007: 1024). The concept has been generally used in at least three distinct ways (Meissner and Vertovec 2015: 542-543): as a descriptive tool, a methodological framework, and as a more pragmatic, policy oriented approach. The descriptive aspect of superdiversity raises awareness of and acknowledges the highly diverse and constantly changing features of the demographics of certain societies. Superdiversity as a methodological tool calls for reconsidering the often used ethno-focal or national analytical lens. It argues for giving more prominence to other variables such as legal statuses or social inequalities that can emerge as similarly powerful tools in shaping individual realities, and thus can enhance understanding of more complex social settings. In relation to the pragmatic aspect of the concept, Meissner and Vertovec invited policy stakeholders to take cognizance of the highly diverse social realities, and to devise social policy tools accordingly (2015: 543). The concept of superdiversity has been used in various areas such as economics (e.g.

Ram et al. 2012), law (e.g. Shah 2009), education (e.g. Cogo 2012), and health studies (e.g. Phillimore 2011); however, it became particularly influential in migration studies. Also, there is considerable literature on superdiverse host cities, situated however mainly in the global North (cf. Meissner 2014; Spoonley 2014). Cities frequently appear as localities where superdiversity acts as a powerful framework for creating, shaping, recreating, and discarding aspects of corporeal and subjective lives of both 'natives' and migrants.

Superdiverse cities are thought to have emerged as a consequence of immigrants settling in them. Research on superdiverse places (in both the global North and South) often view these places as 'end-stations' of human mobilities. By doing so, people's mobilities *from,* and also *between* superdiverse cities, are often overlooked. Such mobilities can be both inter-country (international) movements, and intra-country (internal) movements. International migrations between superdiverse cities can have many vectors, as these can include mobilities (i) within cities of the global North, (ii) within cities of the global South, (iii) from cities of the global South to cities of the global North, and (iv) from cities of the global North to cities of the global South. Also, although the superdiversity literature focuses mainly on international mobilities, intra-country movements can produce superdiverse environments, as well. Although Vertovec used superdiversity primarily in relation to international migration, he recognised the concept's possible applicability to 'internal migrants and to those individuals who do not move at all' (Meissner and Vertovec 2015: 546). As bigger cities of the global South are growing in number and gaining weight on both local and global scales, it is essential to consider them in more depth; however, not only as 'end-station' places where superdiversity can be witnessed, either due to internal or international migration, but also as superdiverse places from which international migrants move to equally superdiverse locales. In particular, since a great number of international migrants have already lived in such superdiverse cities in their home (or another) country before moving to their (current) host country.

At its inception, the concept of superdiversity was applied to places situated in the global North. When Vertovec (2007) suggested considering such a theory, he saw London as an eminent example of superdiversity. In the last decade, the idea of a superdiverse framework to assess increasingly complex social realities in an 'age of migration' (Castles et al. 2013) grew rapidly, and has been gaining ground in research concentrating on societies of the global South, as well. As Arnaut (2012) pointed out, for a long time 'development' was the prime theoretical tool of research on the global South by researchers from the global North. He explained,

> while ‘development’ was essentially geared towards managing the other from a distance – or even keeping the other at a distance – diversity rather deals with the (immigrated) other within (Arnaut 2012: 59).

Nevertheless, superdiversity has not been considered widely in relation to cities of the global South. A substantial part of the superdiversity literature of the global South investigates the nexus of superdiversity and sociolinguistic studies. Velghe (2011) for example studied the ‘instant’ and text messaging local practice of a South African town using ‘super-vernaculars’ (Wang and Varis 2011), while Cavallaro and Ng (2014), and Sim (2017) viewed the social and linguistic landscape of Singapore as increasingly superdiverse. Virtual superdiverse spaces have also become the focus of much exciting new research such as that of Varis and Wang (2011), who studied the use of the Internet in Beijing as a par excellence superdiverse milieu. Although, as Arnaut and Spotti (2015) argued, superdiversity could complement well the existing postcolonial sociolinguistic and anthropologic stances related to diversity, fierce criticisms of the concept have also emerged. For example, Ndhlovu (2016) argued that theorizing through superdiversity for these social settings was deceptive, as the quintessentially Euro-American concept bore the attributes of the hegemonic dominance of the global North, and the use of it ‘invisibilized other alternative epistemologies, particularly those from the Global South’ (Ndhlovu 2016: 28). He called attention to the fact that migration was not a novel phenomenon that could be appropriated for the global North. Examples of it could be seen in the considerable mobilities of people in the global South, such as in Africa, in pre-colonial times. These mobilities were either not recorded or were reduced to movements falling outside the canonised typologies of human movements, such as those labelled ‘nomadic’ movements (Ndhlovu 2016: 34). Also, important international migratory movements created particularly diverse demographics in other areas of the global South, as well. Turner and Khondker (2010: 176) recounted that in the city of Dhaka (Bangladesh) people of different ethnic origins, professions, and religions lived next to each other as early as the 18th century (Ndhlovu 2016: 35), and possibly even before. Interestingly, the direction of migration for many merchants of the time seeking new business opportunities was from the global North towards the global South, and not the opposite (which is overrepresented in the migration literature).

2.5.6 Cosmopolitanism

Cities around the world, in both the global North and South, have been undergoing deep societal changes due to a variety of factors, and in particular mobility. The arrival of new inhabitants with highly diverse ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural, legal, class and other backgrounds reconfigures the social and cultural tissue of the city. This leads 'to the erosion of the very notion of a bounded conception of the social' (Delanty 2006: 35). The city and its society thus becomes hybridized, super-diverse, and such plurality needs to be managed by its inhabitants on a daily basis. As a 'mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238) or a 'mode of engaging with the world' (Waldron 1992 in Vertovec and Cohen 2002), cosmopolitanism is grounded in the recognition that different cultural and ethical systems co-exist and are interdependent (Beck and Sznaider 2006). In order to create and recreate meanings, individuals (need to) 'draw selectively on a variety of discursive meanings' (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 26).

Cosmopolitanism is understood in many ways. It can be viewed as a political and social theory, sometimes referred to as political cosmopolitanism (Delanty 2006). This stands for an intermediary path between nationalism, which is based on the assumption of common ethnic origins, and the more flexible multiculturalism (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). It can also be perceived as an idea of global citizenship which oversteps nation-state borders and nation-state focused politics (Beck 2002; Binnie et al. 2006; Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Sometimes this stance is called moral cosmopolitanism, to underline the existence of an individual cognitive attitude of strong affiliation with universal humankind (Delanty 2006: 28). Others highlight its supra- or plural identity-forming aspect. In this sense, it is viewed as a disposition of multiple overlapping (Benhabib 2004) affiliations (Cohen 1992) that questions the territorialised and traditionally used concepts of identity, belonging and citizenship (Clifford 1998; Vertovec and Cohen 1999). Fourthly, cosmopolitanism is popularly referred to as

> certain individual behaviours, ways of thinking, value systems, or socio-cultural activities performed in and enabling understanding and navigating environments of cultural differences (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 1),

This stance of cosmopolitanism is often labelled 'cultural cosmopolitanism' (cf. Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Delanty 2006). In this sense of cosmopolitanism, Ulf Hannerz (1996) defined the concept in his seminal work '*Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*' as

> an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other ... [entailing] an intellectual and aesthetic stance towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity (p. 103).

According to him, it is a 'personal ability to make one's way into other cultures through listening, looking, intuiting, reflecting' (Hannerz 1990: 239). This could also be summarized in a person's attitude of 'genuine or authentic engagement with difference, and a practice and a consciousness with a global outlook' (Binnie and Holloway, 2003: 4 in Young et al. 2006). However, to exhibit such an attitude, specific skills, mental frames and lifestyles are necessary (Vertovec and Cohen 2002) to be learned (Delanty 2006: 41). Also, *vice versa*, practised forms of cultural capital are displayed through lifestyle or consumption, a kind of 'buying into' a cosmopolitan way of life (Young et al. 2006: 1708), which testify to cosmopolitan 'taste and judgement' (Young et al. 2006: 1688), in particular, as cosmopolitanism is at the same time an aesthetic standard, as well (Vertovec 1996). This approach could explicate why cosmopolitanism has often been linked to the 'elites'. For instance, Hannerz (1996) defined cosmopolitanism as a feature of the White, highly educated upper middle-class, with travelling lifestyle, and occupational and experiential culture (Lamont and Aksartova 2002). In addition, even though he construed the idea of cosmopolitanism based on his anthropological experience in central Africa, due to internal and international migration, societies (home and host) change in fundamental ways. It is increasingly recognised that human mobilities (both internal and international) create spaces where cosmopolitanism is expressed without the need to travel to far-away cultures to experience this phenomenon. As Delanty (2006) put it in an even more permissive way,

> [C]osmopolitanism does not refer simply to a global space or to post-national phenomena that have come into existence today as a result of globalization. … it resides in social mechanisms and dynamics that can exist in any society at any time in history where world openness has a resonance. (p. 43)

In the literature, a clear distinction is sometimes made between cultural cosmopolitanism in the abstract (attitudes and mental dispositions, cf. Waldron 1992, or as a 'process of human imagination' by Donald et al. (2009: 3) and practised forms of it (cf. Vertovec 2000; Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 9). Cosmopolitanism thus is a practised ideological framework, a theoretical optic through which difference can be interrogated and meaning can be construed through the empirics of individual relationships and attitudes.

Cities are the very social spaces where issues of peaceful coexistence, or 'a being together of strangers' (Young, 1990: 240) with differences are increasingly brought about (Donald et al. 2009: 10; see also Amin 2002; Binnie et al. 2006; Donald 1999; Hiebert 2002; Sandercock 2003; Sennett 2002). As early as 1950, Simmel conceptualised the city as the 'unity of nearness and remoteness of strangers' (p. 402). City dwellers share a 'throwntogetherness' (Massey 2005: 181) with other city dwellers that is imperative to be managed in everyday life. In such spaces cosmopolitanism acts as a framework for navigating differences through openness and commitment to tolerance (Kymlicka 2001). Those insisting on a 'grounded' form of cosmopolitanism (e.g. Holston and Appadurai 1999; Skrbis et al. 2004; Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Young et al. 2010) go one step further, they 'seek to explore how social locations and institutions facilitate interaction that goes beyond a tolerance that may signify no more than indifference to difference' (Donald et al. 2009: 10). This has particular relevance, as the city has been conceptualised not only as a site of interrelation, but increasingly as a site of difference (Valentine 2008), especially in recent work by urban geographers. Distinction is implicitly or explicitly made between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' difference (Young et al. 2006: 1689). According to them, in a cosmopolitan vision of the urban, acceptable difference within urban contexts can be located in places of 'packaged diversity' which adhere to neoliberal ideas and consumption-based economies of urban governance (p. 1690). Unacceptable difference, on the other hand, is defined by exclusion and is mainly used for the deprived 'new ethnicised working classes' (Hatziprokopiou 2009: 14). Ley (2004) however problematized this way of construing cosmopolitanism, as it inferred a type of 'other' who was different from those embracing cosmopolitan ethics, and who may not have the required skills and expertise to navigate interactions with the 'cosmopolite' (Young et al. 2006: 1689). This is clearly seen from Rofe's (2003) study on downtown urban cosmopolitan identities in Australia, which are construed as a counterpoint of the 'other', that of the 'mainstream' suburban ones (Young et al. 2006). Also, in discourses on difference and otherness, these two notions are often used as synonyms, and migrants inherently embody the 'other' (Hatziprokopiou 2009).

To manage differences, urban cosmopolitanism also emphasizes the strength of a practised, shared urban identity that could transcend traditional forms of affiliation based for example on ethnicity or religion (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Nava, 2007; Müller 2011). In her work, Çaglar (2002) described the practice of second-generation Turks living in Berlin who opted for a hyphenated cosmopolitan identity with the city, labelling themselves 'Berlin-Turks' in order to overcome difficulties in affiliating themselves socially and culturally either as Germans or Turks. The city of Berlin provided them with the space, community and identity

forming power where their possibly 'unacceptable' difference could become 'acceptable' (Müller 2011). Others have also recognised the potential of a shared urban identity in performing urban cosmopolitanism (e.g. Lefebvre in as early as 1968, or Nava 2007), especially as such a rooted identity could contribute to the 'renegotiations [of affiliations and thus differences] in possibly cosmopolitan directions' (Müller 2011: 3416). Interestingly, not all communities (or ethnic minority groups) recognise the idea of urban cosmopolitanism, as shown by Devadason (2010). He based his argument on data from a project investigating political participation of minorities, and found that cosmopolitan ideas were not the prerogative of the socially more advantaged who lived in multicultural neighbourhoods. On the contrary, these ideas could be accessed by different ethnic groups as well, albeit unevenly. He found that Bangladeshis who were born and brought up in London were more inclined to object to imaginaries of urban cosmopolitanism than those from the Indian or Caribbean minorities. According to him, the apprehension of the Bangladeshi diaspora could be attributed to their specific trajectories as a 'victim-refugee diaspora' (grounded on Cohen's categorisation (2001)) and their not fully established labour market profile, as opposed to the Indian or Caribbean 'diaspora' which showed a more accepting attitude to the concept (p. 2961). At this point, it is important to acknowledge the theoretical value of the concept of diaspora in relation to cosmopolitanism, as diasporas could be viewed as spaces where practiced forms of (cultural) cosmopolitanism necessarily thrive. Diaspora is a powerful conceptual framework to capture the contextually embedded and temporal nature of power relations, identities, and belonging (Brah 1996) with regards to groups of people who 'settled down elsewhere' (Brah 2014: 164). The concept diaspora invokes surmised rootedness in diasporic places that are other than the 'original', while emphasising relations to places of 'origin' (although for a critique on discourses about assumedly fixed origins, see Brah 1996). As this research follows a different approach, as detailed in Chapter 3 (Methodology), diaspora as an analytical lens has not been used, even though its usefulness is recognised.

However, much of the literature on urban cosmopolitanism considers neoliberal modes of city rebranding by appropriating and (mis)using the ideal image of the cosmopolitan city (Binnie et al. 2006; Valentine 2008). Little attention is paid to cosmopolitanism as practised by 'ordinary' city dwellers. Lamont and Aksartova (2002) coined the term 'ordinary' cosmopolitanism to refer to 'strategies used by ordinary people to bridge boundaries with people who are different from them' (p. 1). They examined 'ordinary' working class men and anti-racist practices of both white, black and Arab men in the USA and France, respectively. Drawing on their different cultural resources, the participants exhibited a

cognitive stance reflecting the belief in fundamental human similarity, which enabled them to counter racial othering in their everyday life.

Nevertheless, more recently, some studies advanced the idea of a more 'grounded', empirical form of cosmopolitanism focusing on actual practices of cosmopolitanism by city inhabitants (Binnie et al. 2006; Çaglar, 2002; Lamont and Aksartova, 2002; Skbris and Woodward, 2007; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Young et al., 2010). For instance, Müller (2011) investigated the performance of urban cosmopolitanism in London and Amsterdam. He found that the idea was not equally accessible to all, in particular as major social differentiations such as those based on race, class or residential standing attributed uneven social locations to people. Therefore, in order not to reduce cosmopolitanism to an attitude, a set of skills or a moral philosophical concept, he suggested focusing on actually performed, discursive cosmopolitan social practices.

In addition, scholars have been increasingly studying manifestations of 'everyday cosmopolitanisms' (e.g. Kothari 2008; Datta 2009; Nowicka and Rovisco 2012; Zeng 2014;) or 'vernacular' cosmopolitanism (e.g. Radford 2016; Wang and Collins 2016; Wise 2016). These usually play out in the context of the city. For instance, Wise (2016) investigated 'vernacular' cosmopolitanism in the Singaporean context of micro-level practices of intercultural encounters at the workplace of a Chinese migrant man and a Filipina woman. She argued that these practices could be viewed more as manifestations of a cosmopolitan sensibility and openness as opposed to 'survival-based' intercultural skills. However, she stressed that these were deeply informed by particularly stratifying local immigration and labour market rules, and racial undercurrents. She also warned us not to idealize these attitudes and skills as manifestations of cosmopolitan sensibility, in particular as these needed to be learned and mobilized in order to navigate difference in the frame of 'forced encounter[s]'.

To summarize, this research corpus is highly relevant, especially in the sense that it recognises that cosmopolitanism is construed upon local contexts (Müller 2011). Thus, without focusing on empirical aspects of cosmopolitanism, as Vertovec and Cohen (2002) warned us, our apprehension of the notion of cosmopolitanism as practised in everyday life would remain to a great extent 'rhetorical' (Müller 2011). Especially, as (urban) cosmopolitanism is highly contingent on the social realities in which its practices are performed, and studying them is necessary to gain an understanding of them (Müller 2011). Also, as 'in the growing discourse on cosmopolitanism there is a danger of fusing the ideal

with the real' (Beck et al. 2006: 4). The described practices of cosmopolitanism are performed in both home and host city contexts. As such they could equally inform migrants' integration in the host country city, such as in London. This was also identified by Crețu (2017) in her work on trans-border career trajectories of post-Soviet highly educated women professionals in London. She recounted how the majority of her participants assessed their integration as 'smooth', which phenomenon, according to her, could have been attributed among other things to the fact that all of them came to London from large cities, and such 'in-between-cities' migration did not present 'such a radical change' to the migrants (p. 72). Therefore, I believe it is essential to conduct 'grounded' empirical studies to gain a more nuanced understanding of the way these practices are experienced and play out in the everyday life of migrants, both pre- and post-migration.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter gave a brief overview of the literature on highly skilled/educated female migration, and on the main notions relevant for my research, such as class, cities and cosmopolitanism. Despite an increasing focus on highly skilled female migration in the literature, there still is not enough data on the integration, and, in particular, the understandings of integration, of this specific group of migrants, especially if coupled with higher class position.

The thesis will continue by providing an outline of the methodological approaches and methods used for the doctoral research.

3 Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approaches and methods applied for this doctoral research. First, by embedding the project in specific theories on ontology and epistemology, the nature of the collected knowledge will be defined. This will be followed by discussion of the participants, including methods of recruiting them and a table on their data, relevant to the research project. The circumstances of data collection will be detailed in the fourth section of this chapter, followed by description of the data analysis process. Certain methodological issues will be raised in the subsequent section, following which a Gantt chart will provide an overview of the (purported) time management of the research. The final part of the chapter will explore some issues related to reflexivity in the course of the research. These include ideas related to the dialectics of 'insider'–'outsider' of the researcher, emotional closeness to interviewees, power imbalance associated with social differences, emotional management, and the nature of online interviews.

3.2 Ontology, Epistemology

My doctoral research is based on constructivist ontology and follows the interpretivist epistemological approach. Constructivist ontology emphasises that realities are created and recreated by the social actors inhabiting them, and by attributing values to the different social actions (Weber 1962). These constructed realities are built and constantly reviewed by the actors through interaction and reflection (Matthews and Ross 2010: 25). Due to repetitive actions of everyday life, 'shared meanings' crystallise in most individual interpretations, which can be captured and analysed by the researcher. This could enhance predictability and may provide broader-ranging postulations.

The epistemological position of interpretivism 'prioritises people's subjective interpretations and understandings of social phenomena and their own actions' (Matthews and Ross 2010: 28). Knowledge, according to this epistemology, is created through personal understandings of subjective realities. It is not only the participants who create and shape their perceptions of knowledge, but the researcher also plays an important role in knowledge creation. The

researcher's position is that of an 'insider'; she collects meanings of everyday life by 'entering the everyday social world' (Blaikie 1993) of the participants.

As the PhD research focuses on understandings of the complex and widely contested concept of integration by a specific group of migrant women, it accords great importance to the participants' own interpretations of their respective realities, while inhabiting similar social, cultural, and geographical spaces. By way of monitoring the social phenomenon of integration from the highly educated women migrants' perspective, meanings can be acquired that may differ from the extensively publicised understandings of integration which have been created for policy reasons. They may also differ from scholarly interpretations targeting other migrant groups. Collecting grass-roots level voices thus promotes understanding and may in its turn inform social policy.

The collected data has not been analysed through the lens of *race*. Although, the concept could be deemed to be of importance and relevance in relation to the Indian interviewees. However, the participants rarely mentioned race in general, or, more specifically, racial prejudice or harassment that they have endured in the UK. It was not clear why race was not felt by the participants as a topic related to integration and worthy of discussion. One reason for that could be that they might not have recognised certain acts as racist. Alternatively, they might well have recognised them as such but chose not to expand on the topic. Ford (2008) demonstrated that there had been a steady decline in the racial prejudice of the majority White groups in the UK. The overtly discriminatory policy discourses of the 1960s (see Enoch Powell's Rivers of Blood speech in 1968) and 1970s were replaced from the 1980s with the policy of acceptance of difference, informed by multiculturalism (Ford 2008: 611). Whilst, in the 1990s, a more remarkable positive attitudinal change occurred. Ford surmised that this could be the result of a more accepting political environment, a deeper preoccupation with economic performance (at the time of the economic decline of the early 1990s) instead of ethnic differences, and a generational shift (Storm et al. 2017) with younger generations who grow up in a multi-ethnic Britain being more accepting of difference (p. 625 – 630). In a more recent work with his colleagues, they posited that despite the blurring of 'racial boundaries between whites, blacks and Asians' 'some boundaries remain bright (Alba 2005), or may even have brightened over time. Muslims are singled out for unique hostility' (Storm et al. 2017: 431).

Despite the described positive developments, numerous recent research show that South Asian migrants endure overt and covert forms of racism in the UK. As Modood points out, they are victims of 'double' racism, not only that of colour but also in relation to their culture

(2005: 33-37). For example, studies on Indian doctors in the UK (e.g. Cooke et al. 2003; Gaind 2017; Simpson and Ramsay 2014) offer a glimpse into the extent these highly educated men and women encounter racial discrimination that 'is manifest in access to training and careers, and in norms of acceptable behaviour', with the

> widely held view within the profession that problems encountered by trainees from an ethnic minority are due to valid reasons such as 'not understanding English culture' (Cooke et al. 2003: 1).

However, Kyriakides and Virdee (2003) found that communication difficulties with non-UK qualified doctors generally appeased after three years of work in the UK (Gaind 2017), the initial phase of acculturation in a host country. Apart from lapse of time, display of professional expertise was also thought to be a significant factor that helped South Asian doctors to manage racism at workplace (Simpson and Ramsay 2014: 182). Nonetheless, a female doctor interviewee in Simpson and Ramsey's (2014) study felt no racist attitudes directed towards her. She interpreted this to her 'possession of particular attributes' such as 'speech patterns and cultural background' that enabled her to become more smoothly accepted in the host society than those migrants who were not in possession of the same. She said,

> I don't know...I think we may be an exception...our background is...we talk well, we are the...generation that read Enid Blyton and you know, went to school and...sang hymns...we had that English sort of background...our head teacher was a New Zealander and most of our teachers, Australian, some English (p. 181)

The cultural capital that the quoted interviewee acquired in India therefore allowed her to navigate professional terrains in the UK in a way better than average. To have such 'English sort of background', i.e. to attend private English-medium schools with foreign teachers, necessitated a stable financial background, hence an above-average class position. This chimes in with my assumption that the lack of engagement of my participants with racism may be related to their class position (which might be incorrect, as it has not been tested). Especially, as class could not only impart privileges but could also bestow a strong belief in agency (as discussed in Sections 2.4 and 6.4), and thus a power 'within', an internal shield to counter eventual personal issues related to race, if any. The fact that the participants did not elaborate on race in the interviews could still not prevent me as a researcher to analyse the participants' understandings of integration through this very angle. Nevertheless, due to time

and scope constraints, and in line with the participants' perceived lack of concern about this issue, race was not used as an analytical tool for this research.

3.3 Aims of the Research

The primary aim of this research is to gain knowledge of the meaning of integration for a very specific group of people situated at the intersection of gender, educational achievement, class and ethnic origin. Integration is a 'controversial and hotly debated' concept (Castles et al. 2001: 12); there is no 'one size fits all' understanding of the notion. The general public, including the participants in this research, is more or less acquainted with the continually changing understandings of integration in government social policy through media broadcasts. Nevertheless, these perceptions do not necessarily reflect migrants' comprehensions of the concept but are mainly tailored to maintain and promote actual political priorities. In the last decade, pieces of scholarly research on understandings of integration have become more numerous. Yet, understandings of integration of highly educated, socially and financially privileged migrant women have not been equally deeply looked at. Also, the assumption of vulnerability, principally associated firstly with women, and secondly with less skilled migrant women, might not be tenable for this specific group of migrants. It is therefore relevant to investigate highly educated migrant women's perceptions of integration. The knowledge thus gained would complement the existing integration literature and could possibly inform social policy on integration.

Although the participants in the research had been recruited to meet specific criteria (gender: female, country of origin: India, and level of education: tertiary degree), other social markers could similarly have a notable impact on their comprehensions of integration. For instance, entry route, age, length of stay in the UK, and class position can all shape perceptions and experiences of integration. Furthermore, some themes emerged in the data analysis phase of the research, which may similarly inform the participants' conceptions of integration, such as exposure to diversity, exposure to English culture through primary and secondary school education in India, English language knowledge, or certain highly important pre-migration factors. It is important to note that the research framework is applied to capture different perspectives, which may provide a wide diversity of opinions, rather than reveal general ideas and typical answers.

3.4 Participants

In order to gain sufficient quality data, my aim was to collect data from 30 individuals. Although 30 individuals were interviewed, one interview was finally discarded, as the information provided was particularly sensitive and altogether not relevant enough to be used for the purpose of this research. To recruit the participants, the combined methods of purposive and later snowball sampling were used. Initially, I intended to recruit participants solely based on the method of purposive sampling. Instead of aiming to statistically represent a certain population, which was not the objective of this research, purposive sampling allows the researcher to locate participants defined through certain social markers predetermined by the researcher. In my project, all of the participants needed to satisfy the main markers of difference, such as being born in India, being a woman and having acquired a tertiary education degree. Further markers, such as age, length of stay in the UK, and profession or work were also of importance. Hence, I envisaged identifying interviewees that represented these further markers of difference in more or less equal proportions. For instance, I tried to recruit participants who had come to the UK through different entry routes, e.g. as a family migrant, student, or labour migrant. In terms of the length of stay of the migrants, I used four categories (residing in the UK for less than 5 years, between 5 and 10 years, between 11 and 20 years, and more than 20 years) and planned to recruit my participants from each of these categories. Profession was also a consideration, and I contemplated interviewing doctors, ICT specialists, and those working in finance, and education in more or less equal proportions. Identifying participants fitting into these categories in equal proportions might have allowed me to examine relationships between these social markers and understandings of integration. However, identifying the required number of participants possessing not only the secondary markers of difference but also the main markers became challenging after a while. Thus, equal representation of these secondary social markers could finally not be achieved, despite a significant effort to maintain balance between the categories.

After having exhausted my personal networks, I resorted to the technique of snowball sampling to gain access to newer potential participants. Snowball sampling is a process whereby some members of a specific group could direct the researcher to other members of that group meeting the group inclusion criteria, who in their turn can also suggest others to interview, and so on (Finch and Fafinski 2012: 311). This not only enables the researcher to gain access to a wider cohort of people from whom potential interviewees might appear, but it also allows for a greater variety of participants' backgrounds in addition to the researcher's own, less diversified circles of acquaintance. Furthermore, a personal recommendation of the researcher by a friend or acquaintance of the person so contacted had the potential to promote participation. I therefore asked for the help of some friends and acquaintances

already interviewed to reach out to other potential interviewees who met at least the first markers of difference.

Participants were recruited from various sources. Initially, personal social networks, built through higher education or language studies, sport and other free time activities, and by actively participating in the activities of a South Asian book club, were used to identify interviewees, which provided approximately half of the participants. Following that, interviewees suggested other potential interviewees.

To create a framework for possibly similar integration experience in terms of the locale, and also for the convenience of living in London, I aimed to include participants living in London or in a culturally similarly diverse town (e.g. Cambridge, viewed as such by participants). Some Skype interviews fell outside this criterion; these however represented only an insignificant minority of cases.

The following table contains the main information on the participants, broken down to reflect age, educational background (indicating the country of acquisition of degree), current work, time spent in the UK, entry route, Indian state of origin, and which Indian state and/or cities they came from.

Table 1: Data on Participants

Name	Age	Educational Background	Current Work (Sector)	Time in UK (years)	Entry Route	Home State (or Third Country)
Arundhati[1]	20-30	BSC Accounting (India), MSc Advanced Marketing (UK)	Researcher (Finance and Marketing)	0-5	Student	Maharashtra
Mandeep	20-30	BSc Garment Manufacturing Technology (India)	Supervisor (Tourism)	5-10	Family	Punjab
Gurpreet	20-30	BSc IT (India)	Accountant (Finance and Marketing)	5-10	Family	Jammu & Kashmir
Devika	20-30	BA English (India), PG Dip Media (India)	Media	0-5	Labour (fixed-term 1 year)	Delhi
Gauri	31-40	MBBS Medicine (India)	Gynaecologist (Health)	0-5	Labour	Karnataka
Navdeep	31-40	BA Humanities (not finished)	Teaching Assistant (Education)	11-20	Family	Punjab
Jyoti	31-40	MA English Literature (India)	Self-employed Editor and Project Manager	5-10	Family	Delhi
Nafia	31-40	MSc Finance (UK)	Accountant (Finance and Marketing)	11-20	EU free mover (coming from the Netherlands)	Maharashtra, later the Netherlands
Fareeda	31-40	MA Mass Communication (India)	Producer, (Media)	0-5	Labour	UP
Leela	31-40	BA Electronics (India), MA HR Management (UK)	Maternity break	5-10	Family	Jammu & Kashmir
Bhavi	31-40	MBBS Medicine (India), MRLGP (UK)	General Practitioner (Health)	5-10	Student	Karnataka - Kerala
Ravleen	31-40	BA Applied Art (India), Montessori teacher training (UK)	Self-employed	11-20	Student	Punjab
Dipti	31-40	BA Economics (US), MBA (UK)	Brand Strategist (Finance and Marketing)	0-5	Student	Maharashtra and New York
Madhuri	31-40	BA Dental Science (India)	Dental Associate (Health)	5-10	Family	Karnataka
Maya	31-40	BA Biotechnology (India), MA and PhD Molecular	Maternity break	5-10	Student	Delhi

Name	Age	Educational Background	Current Work (Sector)	Time in UK (years)	Entry Route	Home State (or Third Country)
		Medicine (UK)				
Asha	41-50	BSc Biology (India), PG Diploma Counselling (UK)	Not working	20+	Family	HP
Preeti	41-50	BA Economics (UK)	Coordinator (NGO)	20+	Family	UP
Soraya	41-50	BA and PhD Anthropology (UK)	Lecturer in Anthropology (Education)	20+	Student	Maharashtra
Poornima	41-50	BA, MA and PhD Biology and Education (India)	Lecturer in Hindi (Education)	5-10	Family	UP
Sushila	41-50	MBBS Medicine (India), MD Dermatology	Dermatologist (Health)	11-20	Family	Maharashtra
Radha	51-60	MA, PhD Archaeology (India)	Associate Researcher, University (Education)	20+	Student (first time), later as family	West Bengal and UP
Vimala	51-60	PhD History (India)	Working on a book	0-5	Family	West Bengal
Amala	61+	MA and PhD Literature (India)	Retired Head Teacher, Examiner for A level Hindi (Education)	20+	Family	UP
Sitara	61+	MA Political Science (India)	Retired, Writer, Film Director, Translator (Other Public Sector)	20+	Other (visiting family member)	Punjab
Darshana	61+	MA English (India)	Work at Indian Cultural Organisation (Other Public Sector)	20+	Other (possibly tourist visa)	Delhi
Shashi	61+	MA History (India), PhD History (Australia)	Researcher, Foundation (NGO)	20+	Family	UP
Lakshmi	61+	MA Psychology (India)	Retired, Broadcast Journalist (Media)	20+	Labour	UP
Manjula	61+	BA English Literature and French (India), MPhil English Drama (UK)	Freelance Writer	20+	As born in UK, she is a British citizen	Maharashtra and Delhi
Nasira	61+	BA Art and Hindi (India)	Councillor, London Borough	20+	Family	UP

Name	Age	Educational Background	Current Work (Sector)	Time in UK (years)	Entry Route	Home State (or Third Country)
			(Other Public Sector)			

[1]All names have been changed to preserve anonymity.

3.4.1 Routes of entry

(i) Family migration

As shown in the table, nearly half of the participants came through the family migration route, i.e. 14 out of 29. Interestingly, only one person came as a family migrant in the last 5 years (as data was collected in the spring of 2014, these time brackets are calculated from that date); this participant was in her fifties and did not come directly from India. Thus, there was no one in the sample who came directly from India between 2009 and 2014 as a family migrant. This may be due to the more restrictive UK family migration rules that have been in effect at least since 2012, although with such a small sample of people with a 'comfortable' middle class background, we should be careful with such assumptions. Six persons came as family migrants in the last 5 to 10 years, while this number dropped to only 2 for the last 11-20 years, and 5 persons arrived more than 20 years ago. If we look at the age range of these persons, it can be seen that, in general, the time spent in the UK corresponded to an anticipated age range, with younger participants having resided in the UK for fewer years and older for more years. In particular, those who came to the UK as family migrants 5-10 years ago were in general younger, on average in their thirties (2 persons in their twenties, 3 in their thirties, while 1 in her forties); those who arrived 11 to 20 years ago are in their thirties or forties (1 in each of these age groups); while those who have been residing in the UK for more than 20 years represent the older among the participants with 2 persons in their forties and 3 being over 60. The only person who came as a family migrant in the last 5 years was a more special case, as she did not directly come from India but from Dubai and was in her fifties.

(ii) Labour migration

Out of the 29, only 4 persons came as labour migrants, although one more participant labelled herself as a labour migrant as she came to work in the UK, but in fact her legal status was that of an EU 'free mover' (after having spent a decade in the Netherlands). Most of these 4 persons arrived in the UK in the last 5 years (n=3), while the other person, who was retired, had been living in the UK for more than 20 years. None of the participants

entered the UK as labour migrants between 5 to 20 years ago. This is not surprising, in particular as since the 1970s there has been a significant decrease in the number of work permits issued for migrants, both for skilled or unskilled labourers, which in general reduced labour migration to the UK (Raghuram and Kofman 2002). Nevertheless, such figures were more puzzling for the time bracket between 2000 and 2008, which was the prime time of 'managed migration'. This was the time when a shift occurred from the former overly restrictive approach to labour migration, and when new immigration policies were put in place to counter the recognised labour market shortages (as described in more detail in section 1.1.8 above). However, we will see under section 3.4.2 below on the interviewees' labour market sector profiles that those who arrived as family migrants would later enter the labour market and would occupy positions in a wide array of sectors, including health and education where the identified shortages occurred. This latter trend was in line with findings of scholarly research that uncovered permeability of legal statuses and their nexus with the length of time spent in the host country (Kofman 2000; Raghuram 2000). It was also interesting to note that except for the already retired participant, all interviewees who arrived in the UK as labour migrants came between 2009 and 2014, directly after the unfolding of the financial and economic crisis (from 2008 onwards). This led to a significantly lower intake of labour migrants in nearly all sectors of the economy affected by the crisis; however, as we will see, most of these labour migrants worked in a specific sector, that of the media, that has not been widely discussed in the literature.

(iii) Student migration

Seven participants out of 29 entered the UK as student migrants. This route of entry is thus the second most widely used by the participants, behind the major route of family migration, and ahead of the labour migration route. It can be said that in general the younger generations were overrepresented in a sense that 1 student migrant was in her twenties, 4 were in their thirties, 1 in her forties, and 1 in her fifties. The rate of student migrants was evenly distributed across the 'length of time in the UK' brackets of the research, with 2 persons having resided in the UK for 0-5 and 5-10 years in each case, 1 person between 11-20 years and 2 others for more than 20 years. Interestingly, there weren't any older participants (60+ years) who entered the UK through this route (as we saw, this age group arrived primarily through family migration or other routes). The widely mediatised recent sharp drop in the enrolment of non-EEA (including Indian) students in British higher education institutions (HESA First Statistical Release 242 (2015-16) Table 9) could not be detected from such numbers. This could be accounted for by the fact that the student interviewees arrived before 2012, and also perhaps by their higher than average socio-

economic backgrounds (for more on international student migration, see King and Raghuram 2013; Raghuram 2013).

(iv) Other entry routes

A minority of the participants, 4 out of 29, came through entry routes other than family, labour or student migration. Two persons arrived as visitors; however, as they revealed, their main purpose of visit was to escape (potential) domestic abuse. Both of them were more than 60 years old, and they had been residing in the UK for more than 20 years. Another person, who was in her thirties, came under the free movement rules of the EU after having spent a decade in the Netherlands. Finally, as it turned out in the course of the interview, one person already possessed British citizenship when she re-entered the UK later in her life. Although she was born in the UK, her family moved back to India when she was still very young, following which she spent all of her childhood in India. By the time of the interview, this person was in her sixties and had been living in the UK for more than 20 years.

3.4.2 Labour market incorporation

(i) Rate

A very high number of the participants worked: 23 out of 29, which showed a particularly high ratio of 79.3%! It can be said that all interviewees bar two had worked in the UK for some time after their arrival; out of these two, one person had not yet had the chance to work in the UK, as she had just finished her postgraduate studies and was continuing with a maternity break, while another person who was writing a book at the time she had arrived in the UK only recently after a long history of work experience in her previous place of residence, Dubai. Out of those who worked, 4 worked in more flexible arrangements, either by being registered self-employed, free-lance or writing a book. The interviewees recounted that self-employment served as a means to counter less successful labour market incorporation. Such a trend was in line with the findings of Struder's (2002) study, which described that self-employment was an increasingly employed tool among some ethnic minorities or people from certain geographical areas, such as from South Asia, to overcome difficulties in labour market integration at a level aimed by the migrant; in addition, it allowed some flexibility in time management in order to 'fit in' life with the family.

Apart from the 23 who worked, 2 were on maternity leave, 3 were retired and only one admitted not having had and not actively looking for a job. Those who were on maternity leave were in their thirties and had been living in the UK for a time period between 5 to 10 years. Those who were retired had been living in the UK for more than 20 years. The only person who did not have a job was open to move into the labour market, either into a paid or unpaid position, if there was a chance to do so. However, the financial standing of her family (and more precisely her husband's income) allowed her not to have a job.

The participants' cases showed that even though they came to the UK through various entry routes, and most notably as family migrants, most of them could work and had worked or were still working. They did so by virtue of their immigration statuses which allowed them to work, or if this was not the case initially, then they switched status at a later time to an immigration status enabling work. Hence, no one from this group of highly educated women migrants was dependent on benefits or other welfare provisions (except for the pension; however, those who were retired had worked for several decades in tax paying positions). Data on this specific group of migrants certainly does not confirm populist and widely aired views on immigrants who are a burden on the state. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the participants were all highly educated and came from the ranks of a 'comfortable' middle class, which may have informed much of their attitudes, expectations and possibilities about their own labour market integration.

(ii) Sectors

The interviewees worked in the following sectors: education, finance and marketing, health, media, NGO sector, other public sector, tourism, or were self-employed. Those who were already retired will also be listed below.

1. Education

Education is the sector which employed the highest number of participants, i.e. 5 persons. The age of such interviewees ranged relatively evenly from thirties upwards (none of the participants in this sector was in her twenties), 1-1-1 person in her thirties, fifties and sixties, while 2 persons in their forties. Interestingly, the majority of those who worked in education had been living in the UK for a longer time (3 persons for 20+ years). There were none working in this sector who came to the UK in the 5 years preceding the interview (i.e. between 2009 and 2014). 2 of these persons were employed at primary schools (one as a

former head teacher, another as a teaching assistant), while 3 worked as lecturers and researcher at universities of very good reputation.

2. Health

The second most 'popular' sectors neck and neck were health, and finance and marketing, with 4 persons in each. At the same time an equal number of 4 persons were self-employed.

Those who worked in the health sector were mainly middle-aged (3 were in their thirties and 1 in her forties). They had all come to the UK in the last 20 years, i.e. between 1994 and 2014, with half of them having arrived between 2004 and 2009. The timing roughly coincided with severe labour force shortages in the UK health sector, which could not be tackled solely by employing home-educated professionals. Thus, some migrant participants found highly skilled work in the sector, as dermatologist, gynaecologist, GP, and dental associate. Only one person came on a work visa to work immediately in a hospital as a gynaecologist, while another one came under a scheme to study and work (she later became a GP). Two persons arrived as family migrants, out of which one did further studies in the UK to become a dermatologist, while another temporarily accepted the lower position of dental associate despite her training as a dentist, with the aim to be incorporated in the labour market and gain related practice.

3. Finance and Marketing

The age and length of UK residence profile of those 4 migrant women who worked in the finance and marketing sector showed a somewhat different pattern from those working in the health sector. They were among the youngest (2 persons in their twenties, and another 2 in their thirties), and on average with shorter stays in the UK (2 persons had arrived in the last 5 years, one between 5 and 10 years ago, and another one between 11 and 20 years ago). Their labour market uptake could be linked to a global boom in the sector that occurred especially in the last 20 years or so, and also to the increasing trend among young women in India to gain degrees in finance and marketing, and IT. Although some of them mentioned that as they had gained at least their first degrees before the financial and economic crisis, they could not anticipate such occurrence and were particularly worried around 2008 that the crisis could impact on their future labour market integration. To counter the recession, and/or to enhance chances on the UK labour market, three of them acquired postgraduate degrees in the UK. Half of them (n=2) arrived in the UK as students. At the time of the interviews, the majority (n=3) managed to secure jobs in big multinational companies in the City or in

Central London, while another person worked in a smaller firm operated by a person of South Asian origin, serving mainly the same clientele.

4. Self-Employed

Although 'self-employment' is not a sector per se, it still is important to briefly discuss the profile of those who chose to become self-employed, in particular as 4 persons had this employment status (the same number as those working in finance and marketing, and health sectors). Those who were self-employed were in their thirties or above (2 persons in their thirties, and 1 in each of the higher age brackets), and they arrived in the UK in an even pattern (one for each 'length of stay in the UK' bracket). The nature of their work was humanities- or art-related, such as being an editor, playwright, historian-writer, or art-based entrepreneur. In many cases, they could not find adequate 'ordinary' work that matched their educational backgrounds and interests. Also, in more cases, flexibility in accommodating family duties also played an important role in choosing such employment status. These major considerations for becoming self-employed seemed to be in line with Struder's (2002) already mentioned findings.

5. Media

A further 3 persons were employed in the media sector. Their overrepresentation in this study could be attributed to the sample technique of the research, which was based on personal interest and snowballing, and thus most probably did not mirror the employment pattern among middle-class, highly educated migrant women in the UK. Apart from one person who was retired, younger participants were employed in this sector (one person in her twenties, while another in her thirties). The younger participants had both come to the UK within 5 years before the interview and planned to return to India soon, while the one person who had spent more than 20 years in Britain was retired. All of them possessed Indian degrees only, with the younger ones having subject-specific media degrees.

6. 'Other' Public Sector and Charity Sector

The next two sectors employing 2 interviewees each were the 'other' public sector (other than education, health and media) and the charity sector. These sectors took up some of the older participants, with 3 persons being more than 60 and one in her forties. None of them arrived in the UK as labour migrants, but rather as family migrants and as visitors, in half-

half proportions. None of them did work directly related to their educational backgrounds, and half of them expressed that they would be happy to have a different type of work.

3.4.3 Age

Most of the participants (n=11) were in their thirties, while the second largest age group was that above 60 years with 7 persons. However, the age profiles of the participants were more or less evenly spread in a sense that approximately half was under (n=15) and another half was above forty (n=14). Other sections in this part 3.4 attempted to link the participants' age profile to their other markers of distinction.

3.4.4 Class

As described in Section 6.4 below, participants had middle class backgrounds before migrating to the UK. The reason I could put together this group of interviewees from such a relatively high class standing is not necessarily due to my class position. It could rather be attributed to an array of reasons. For example, it could be due to my (niche) interest in the Hindi language and Indian cultures, in relation to which I got to know certain persons who would later introduce me to others who happened to be of such class position. For instance, a professor of Hindi language teaching at a prestigious Delhi university referred me to some of his acquaintances who were living in London. Once I interviewed some of these, they also linked me to other friends and acquaintances of theirs (i.e. snowballing research sample identification technique). Another person, working for a media organisation that broadcast in Hindi, also suggested I contact certain persons among whom some became participants in this research. Also, as I have a strong interest in postcolonial and contemporary Indian literature in English, I had the chance to attend a book club where I met some of my participants. Having free time to read while working, and also having the interest to do so, requires the combination of certain levels of cultural and financial capital, which was detectable in the attendees, and which was generally not lower than middle class status. In some other cases, the higher-class status came as a surprise. For instance, before interviewing my Sikh participants, I was not aware that they might have come from such financially distinguished backgrounds as they described, particularly as I certainly was not focusing on the class status of the interviewees when I identified them as interviewees, as class was not a selection criterion for the participants. Also, some other persons were referred to me through some relations in the London financial sector, who all happened to have 'comfortable' middle-class backgrounds.

In addition, it may be interesting to consider the time of migration to the UK in the light of the new economic policies in India from the 1990s, which could have contributed to the reconceptualization of the notion of the Indian middle class. If we use the 'length of stay in the UK' brackets applied in this research, a rough caesura could be found between the three lower and the one highest categories, i.e. a line could be drawn at around 20 years spent in the UK. This corresponds to the year of 1994 (as the interviews were conducted in 2014), which was the time when discourses on the new Indian economic policies could have already informed conceptualisations of class. Therefore, those who had been residing in the UK for less than 20 years might have construed the notion of class and thus would have assigned themselves into class positions in a different way from those who had been living here for more than 20 years. Also, this first group of people was significantly younger with most being in their thirties (4 in their twenties, 11 in their thirties, 2 in their forties, and 1 in her fifties – this last person, however, had spent considerable time outside India before moving to the UK in her fifties), while, over 60-year olds were overrepresented in the second group (7 above 60 years, 3 in their forties, and 1 in her fifties). Age (and length of stay), therefore, probably profoundly informed the interviewees' understandings of class.

3.4.5 Religion

The religious affiliations of the participants were never asked for. This study did not purport to focus or be defined along religious lines, particularly as I attempted to investigate other similarly important markers of difference, and not to reproduce religion-based discourses on migrant integration. Nevertheless, the religion of most of the participants could be guessed either from their name (first name and surname), or from their narratives, especially when they wanted to emphasize certain, primarily identificational, approaches to their integration. In addition, the venues where some of the interviews took place also implied certain religious beliefs, for instance for the participants who were interviewed in a Sikh religious place, 'gurdwara'. Therefore, based on my assumptions, which of course may not be totally correct, the majority of the participants were Hindus (n=19), followed by Sikhs (n=4), Muslims (n=3), and Parsis (n=2), while in one case I was not sure of the person's possible Christian origin. Regardless of this, the findings of the research showed that the constellation of certain markers of difference other than religion, such as class (very heavily!), gender and education, could have strongly informed the participants' understandings of integration. Hence, religion was probably not the dominant framework in conceptualising understandings of integration, at least for this group of migrant women.

3.4.6 Cities of Origin

All of the participants came from urban areas, and most from bigger cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bangalore, Amritsar, Lucknow, Chandigarh, Jammu, although some arrived from smaller urban places, e.g. from Nainital. One person had spent nearly a decade in New York before moving to London, while another had resided for a longer time in Dubai. Their geographical origins, and in particular, the fact that they had lived in cities before their arrival in the UK, would possibly have consequential implications on their understandings of integration, as I will argue in Section 6.2.2 (The Role of City) below.

3.5 Data Collection

For the purpose of the research, two main strands of data were collected.

Firstly, the relevant literature was consulted to provide a thorough background for the research and embed it in the existing social policy and academic framework of integration. In doing so, integration-related theoretical frameworks, government policies and other political materials were investigated at both national (UK) and supranational (EU) levels. In addition, integration-related academic literature, and more specifically literature examining understandings of integration, was studied. These documents, publications and other information were primarily accessed on-line and, to a lesser extent, in hard-copy forms.

Secondly, interviews were conducted in the spring of 2014. Data were collected through open-ended semi-structured interviews. This is a useful method for investigating 'data on understandings, opinions, what people remember doing, attitudes, feelings and the like, that people have in common' (Arksey and Knight 1999: 2). Qualitative interviews aspire to understand and interpret, getting answers to the 'how' and 'why' questions, rather than 'fact-finding' (Warren 1988) and obtaining measurable information. In other words, the goal is not to maximise reliability and validity through quantifying, measuring key ideas, which is the nature of quantitative approaches (Bryman 2012), but to capture more intangible and personal understandings. Semi-structured interviews have several advantages. Interviewees have space to develop their arguments, no pre-determined answer types are given, thus richer, deeper and personal meanings can be formulated (Gubrium and Holstein 2001). It allows the interviewees to express their subjective views on the topic freely, but without the risk that the interviews become unbounded (Flick 2009). Another advantage is flexibility as

the interviewer and, on occasions, the interviewee can direct the conversation to explore certain aspects of the research topic or one which has arisen, in greater detail.

Prior to the interview phase of the research, a preliminary questionnaire (attached to this thesis under Annex no. 1) and an interview schedule (attached to this thesis under Annex no. 2) was developed and gradually fine-tuned. Before conducting the actual interviews, a questionnaire was piloted with the participation of a friend who is similarly a highly educated woman migrant, although not from India. Pilot testing is an efficient way to assess whether a questionnaire is properly designed, whether participants would clearly understand all the questions, whether it follows a coherent logic, and finally whether the interview with these questions would indeed result in collecting the intended information (Theodore 2014). Piloting the questionnaire thus allowed me to eliminate some inconsistencies I had not previously anticipated and sharpen my questions. The questionnaire was in front of me during the interviews, to remind myself of all the topics that I intended to explore, and also as a gentle reminder for interviewees that the researcher's aim is to keep the flow of interview under control.

Not only answering, but also asking questions about integration proved to be challenging. On the one hand, it was of great importance to avoid imposing the researcher's ideas or interpretations on integration. On the other hand, due to the slippery nature of the concept, many of the interviewees initially felt a certain degree of uneasiness expressing ideas about something so nebulous. As interviewees often defined integration by using words or expressions as synonyms for integration (e.g. feeling at home, being part of something), these expressions were picked up by the researcher in an attempt to refer to integration, whilst most of the times still uttering the word integration. This encouraged conversation and familiarity with the term for the interviewees (a similar method was used in Ager and Strang's 2004 research on refugee integration).

The venues of the interviews included coffee shops, restaurants, libraries (the British Library, library of the borough and university library), a town hall, a cultural centre, a university office, a Sikh Gurdwara's langar (dining hall), and also a participant's home.

Interviews were held in person and via Skype. My original intention was to conduct only 'traditional' face-to-face, personal interviews. It is widely acknowledged that such interviews have more time and financial costs, and require more logistic-related considerations (Deakin and Wakefield 2014) than online interviews. Nevertheless, personal presence and physical proximity (Evans et al. 2008) allows for a space to build better rapport

(O'Connor et al. 2008) between 'real' interviewee (see for instance a description in Blitz et al. 2005 for the need for some prospective interviewees, who, before consenting to being interviewed, visited the interviewer's university office to ascertain that the interviewer really existed and in such capacity) and participant. Good rapport, in turn, could be hugely important for building trust with interviewees, which significantly enhances the chances of gaining valuable data. Also, face-to-face interviewing could enable subtler, less tangible types of information sharing, such as in ways other than through verbal communication (O'Connor et al. 2008). Intercepting such information could prompt a sensitive researcher to ask questions that could be of great importance for the research. However later in the interview phase many of the interviewees expressed interest in having more convenient, flexible (Holt 2010), cheaper and less time consuming online interviews. In these interviews, the researcher and the participants can 'remain in a 'safe location' without imposing on each other's personal space', which is 'neutral yet personal' (Hanna 2012: 241). When conducting Skype interviews, besides the acknowledged positives, I sometimes had the impression that good rapport with the participant could not always be built partly due to persistent occurrence of technological challenges, caused mainly by bad internet connection. However, it is important to acknowledge the value of online interviews not as complementary or secondary choice to face-to-face interviews but also as a stand-alone research method (Deakin and Wakefield 2014).
On one occasion, when three interviewees were interviewed in person one after the other, other people also sat around listening to the answers, occasionally interrupting and commenting on them.

3.6 Data Analysis

All of the conducted interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in full.

As data analysis is 'a range of techniques for sorting, organising and indexing qualitative data' (Mason 1996: 7), it required the researcher to meticulously handle the data in several phases. First, the transcriptions were read and re-read in an attempt to identify initial codes or themes. Later, the transcripts were content analysed with the help of the qualitative research software NVivo 10 using these preliminary codes, which were complemented by further codes determined in the course of software analysis (Silverman 1993). Content analysis is a data analysis method which identifies concepts in a document and attempts to identify their meanings, understandings and interrelations. Furthermore, it helps to locate data patterns (Matthews and Ross 2010: 395). The interview transcripts were later

fragmented and rearranged part by part along such codes to help identify patterns in views and understandings, and gauge interrelations of the participants' markers of difference. The understandings of integration were thus examined taking an inductive stance.

3.7 Research Ethics

Prior to the commencement of the research, ethical approval was sought and obtained from Middlesex University's Social Sciences Academic Group Ethics Sub-Committee. Participants were duly notified of this.

A written summary of the research was given to the participants before the interviews actually took place. This allowed them to be fully cognisant with the research, its rationale and what its contribution could be. They were given further information when they requested, either in writing or over the phone, to dismiss all possible doubts and uncertainty about the research.

The interviewees either provided the researcher with a signed consent form, often before the interviews took place, or at least they acknowledged and allowed orally that their narrative be transcribed, analysed and parts of the interviews used as direct quotations in publications. However, for confidentiality and anonymity reasons and also to honour the interviewees' willingness to share their very personal thoughts and beliefs with me, their names have been changed. In addition, considerable effort was made that information which could identify a person was kept to a minimum.

3.8 Time Scale of the Research

The following Gantt chart gives an overview of the (planned) time management of the research:

PhD Research Schedule	**2012/2013**		**2013/2014**		**2014/2015**		**2015/2016**		**2016/2017**	
	I.	**II.**	**I.**	**II.**	**I.**	**II.**	**I.**	**II.**	**I.**	**II.**
Research training - methodological (PG Course)										
Preparing Research Proposal, defining research questions										

Development of research techniques and strategies										
Literature review										
Registration										
Empirical phase										
Preparing transcriptions of interviews										
Data analysis										
Transfer from MPhil to PhD										
Writing up stage										
Examination of the thesis and viva examination										
Thesis presentation										

3.9 Reflexivity

All research requires the researcher to be and remain reflexive throughout the research. Although reflexivity is mainly discussed in the literature in relation to epistemology and more specifically the data collection phase of a study, it is equally important to take up a reflective stance when analysing the data (Mauthner and Doucet 2003), especially as the perception and translation of data is a reflexive activity of the researcher in the course of which meanings are created rather than simply detected (Mauthner et al. 1998). Therefore, the data thus created is based on the joint epistemology of the interviewer and the interviewee.

In the course of my research, many facts, circumstances and instances compelled me to act in a reflexive way. This section attempts to present only the main issues, which are related to the relationship between researcher and participant, since there is not one moment of the research, which could not be reflected upon.

3.9.1 Insider – Outsider Dialectics

The researcher is not invisible, objective, but is embedded in the research context both cognitively and emotionally. As the research was conducted with Indian women, a group of people with certain markers differing from mine, the most notable point of reflexivity emanates from the 'insider'–'outsider' dialectics (Fay 1996). A researcher is considered an 'insider' when (s)he can claim to be a member of the researched group (Kanuha, 2000),

which manifests, for instance, in common language, identity, experiences (Asselin, 2003), characteristics or role (Dwyer and Buckle 2009) with the participants. An outsider, on the other hand, is the opposite: a researcher who does not share significant markers with the participants. Many argue that being an insider not only lends the researcher legitimacy vis-à-vis the participants (Adler and Adler 1987), it can also contribute to easier rapport building with participants, a more open participatory attitude and thus richer data (Dwyer and Buckle 2009). Yet, on occasions, this might not be the case; the role of an insider could also give the researcher a certain stigma (Adler and Adler 1987), which is normally not present when the researcher is seen as an outsider. Moreover, an insider researcher might accord greater importance to understandings held in common with the participants, which on occasions can impact his/her perspective, and could disregard ideas which are assumed to be known and are thus taken for granted (Turnbull 2000). Also, being an outsider *per se* does not create objectivity (Dwyer and Buckle 2009). Being a member of the researched group is not a prerequisite for researching, acknowledging and exhibiting the understandings and experiences of participants (Fay 1996).

Imposing the categories of insider or outsider could create barriers for the researcher in various ways, which could restrict the ability to transcend these limits. I therefore concur with Dwyer and Buckle who posit that the dichotomy of insider–outsider might not be the key element of the researcher–participant relationship; rather, it is indispensable to conduct the research with the 'ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience' (2009: 59). Hence the adoption of a dialectical approach instead of a dichotomy, as 'in a dialectical approach, differences are not conceived as absolute, and consequently the relation between them is not one of utter antagonism' (Fay 1996: 224). Although I had many common characteristics with the participants, I acknowledge that our backgrounds differ in certain ways. This compels me to remain reflexive both in the data collection and analysing phases. For being in a constantly reflexive state of mind hopefully avoids potential misunderstandings based on assumptions and false knowledge, and the representation of the participants' views might not be biased by personal attitudes, beliefs and understandings (for more on methodological implications of insider/outsider research, see Nowicka and Ryan 2015).

3.9.2 Emotional Closeness to Interviewees

Before conducting the interviews I believed that a previously existed good relationship with interviewees might be key to a relaxed interview atmosphere. However, I came to know that

this was not necessarily the case. The more interviews were conducted, the more it became clear that a previously existing deep or even not so deep relationship with interviewees was not a prerequisite for a fruitful interview. A certain emotional distance between interviewer and participant could provide a more professional atmosphere. It could be reassuring for the participant to know that the interviewer would not 'trespass' on private cognitive or emotional space apart from during and in the frame of the interview, while the interviewer (ideally) could focus better on the interview schedule and may remain more alert to new pieces of information surfacing from the narratives of the participants.

3.9.3 Power Imbalance / Social Differences

In all interpersonal relations, power relations should be constantly managed. Similarly, in an interview situation, various aspects of power of the researcher and the researched should be carefully balanced. Power is an intricately constructed phenomenon; it is created both by the person exuding (or wishing to exude) power, and the others who come into contact with that person. Power, therefore, is never a given and objective category. It is constantly formulated and is reshaped in the course of social interactions.

As a PhD student, I was aware that my social standing, which imparts both personal and more objective (seen by others) feelings of power, was often dissimilar to that of the interviewees. It was a challenge for me to emotionally manage my perceived power inferiority in relation to some of the more mature participants who gave the impression of having built a seemingly satisfactory life in Britain, with brilliant careers, well-educated (grand)children and strong social capital and cultural powers to underpin the former. However, during the interviews, my hunger for knowledge allowed me to direct my full attention to the narratives of the interviewees, rather than dwelling on issues which in reality should not be my concern; however, there could be situations where this cannot be ignored.

On one occasion, however, a power imbalance could be tangibly felt, although in a slightly unorthodox way, when conducting an interview in a participant's home. The interview went well with the participant, a lovely and welcoming elderly lady with immense energy and consideration. At one point, a servant appeared and brought water and refreshments for us. Although I have encountered the idea of relying on servants for household chores more than once during my stay in India, experiencing the re-creation of hierarchical Indian social relations in a British home disturbed me slightly. It took me some time to continue the interview in a balanced emotional state. I later reflected on my, I believed, 'unprofessional' reaction of being emotionally shaken by this episode. Social inequalities disturb most of us,

and particularly when directly confronting them. Yet, I am aware that a researcher should be prepared to face these types of challenges.

3.9.4 Emotional Management

Emotional management (Ryan 2008), as already seen in the previous section on power management, can be an essential part of an interview. On occasions, participants recounted extremely moving and sad personal biographies filled with forced marital relationships, domestic violence and emotional blackmailing. These stories were not only difficult to narrate (sometimes the interviewees became visibly upset), but put the listener, the researcher, under considerable emotional strain, as well.

The recollections of one of my elderly participants was unusually moving; it required a significant effort from me to restrain my tears. Although I asked integration-related questions, she began sharing her very personal experiences and memories. As these were particularly upsetting, not to mention that I did not feel well placed to be at the receiving end of profoundly intimate stories, I attempted to redirect the conversation to the 'stable' ground of the concept of integration. However, as I might have not been forceful enough, she continued her narrative. I decided not to interrupt, as she seemingly felt relieved being able to talk about these issues. The concept of 'boundary crossing' (Mouton and Pohlandt-McCormick 1999) is used in the literature to give a description of similar instances, when interviewees steer the interviews 'off track' on an unanticipated and in many cases unsettling route.

3.9.5 Online Interviews

My interviews were conducted at various places, as described in the Data Collection part of this chapter, including online. Although I intended to interview people in person during face-to-face encounters, many of my interviewees expressed interest and willingly took part in Skype interviews. This type of interview was beneficial not only for the participants but also for me, the researcher. They allowed us more flexibility in terms of time management (no commuting time or no time loss when an interviewee didn't turn up at the agreed time and place of meeting). We could remain in the comfort of our own homes contributing to our feeling of being at ease. There were no distracting noise levels, as experienced too often in cafes and bars.

Yet, some considerable shortcomings could also be associated with online interviews. Apart from the notorious characteristic of online calls, i.e. the frequent Internet connection failures

and line breaks, establishing rapport seemed to be significantly harder. Not being physically close and in the presence of the other person, and not being able to communicate in ways other than verbal, may limit our exposure to the other person, thus the contact surface between interviewer and interviewee is to a great extent reduced. Moreover, not being in the same geographical space with its unique atmosphere and activity could also deprive us of the construction of common experiences of the locale. It could also be observed that as participants also struggled to create a rapport with the interviewer, they gave more condensed and to-the-point answers. This practice led to the collection of less detailed and somewhat poorer data. Unanticipated noise disturbance from family members likewise staying at home also had to be dealt with.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter explored the methodological background of the research in greater depth. It discussed the ontological and epistemological stances of the project, its aims, participants, the data collection and analytical phases, and the project's time frame. It considered ethical issues to observe and the need for a continuously reflexive approach by the researcher.

I believe the chosen theoretical and methodological approaches are commensurate with the aims of the research. As the project attempts to reveal understandings of the concept of integration by highly educated women participants (being from a specific country of origin), it is their voices which should be collected and analysed. It is important to reiterate that the research aims to display various viewpoints, which could culminate in a great variety of perspectives and understandings. However, obtaining generalisable ideas or typical answers *per se* was not the purpose of the research.

The next Chapters 4-6 will explore findings of the empirical part of the research.

4 Chapter 4 - Understandings of Integration – Emotional Responses

4.1 Introduction

Integration is construed and lived in very personal and individual ways despite its contextually embedded and over-politicised nature. Thus, different individuals experience integration in different ways based primarily on their personal circumstances and histories, backgrounds, and personalities (EAVES 2015: 90). Notwithstanding the naturally occurring diversity of perspectives of the participants, certain discrete recurring themes have emerged from their accounts. These understandings of integration ranged from more abstract ones to the very concrete. For methodological purposes, two major groups of understandings of integration have been identified. The first one explores emotional, affective responses to integration as understandings of integration and will be discussed in this chapter. The collected emotional understandings of integration comprise ideas of integration equated with feelings such as 'this is home', 'being part', 'not feeling a foreigner', 'feeling comfortable', 'feeling secure', and 'feeling free and independent'. Whereas Chapter 5 will discuss the other main group of understandings of integration that has been discerned. This time, focus will be concentrated on power lines and 'agency' vectors in everyday integration practices that take place between the two major players in the integration processes, i.e. migrants and host country society. This will be considered especially in relation to the widely-held idea that integration is a two-way process.

4.2 This is Home

The statement of 'this is home' appears to truly reflect many participants' feeling of being integrated. When someone says, 'this is my home', everyone may have a more or less clear idea of what the person means, and thus there seems to be no real necessity for the concept to be further elaborated. As 'homemaking' (Ginsberg 1999) or 'home-searching is a basic trait of human nature' (Tucker 1994: 186), the phenomenon of home is intrinsic to our everyday physical, cognitive and emotional existence, hence to our being (Wu 1993). The concept is particularly complex, however, and is not without its incommensurabilities (for the complex and at the same time contradictory nature of the concept see Mallett's (2004: 84) lengthy definition of home), thus belying its seeming obviousness.

Home can be conceptualised in different ways. Historically, home was equated with the dwelling place, typically the house, a locale defined by sentiments (Altman and Werner 1986; Rybczynski 1986; Cuba and Hummon 1993: 112). Such a depiction was heartily embraced and broadcast by Western popular media (Mallett 2005). Home in this sense was a 'stationary, centred, bounded, fitted, engaged, and grounded' place (Rapport and Dawson 1998: 27 referred to in Nowicka 2007), although historically and culturally conceptualised (Mallett 2004: 68). Home, for others, expanded both in physical and sensorial ways, and began incorporating the locality as a place capable of 'intruding' on the ego sensorially through smells, sounds, touches and memories (Brah 1996), but was still primarily regarded as a place.

Yet, theorising home purely as a physical place made other aspects of home invisible (Douglas, 1991; Rapport and Dawson, 1998). Home was increasingly seen as a multi-dimensional construction (e.g. Bowlby et al., 1997; Wardaugh, 1999), a kind of 'socio-spatial system' and 'unit of interaction' (Saunders and Williams 1988: 82), a 'site for connecting people, places, things, and cultures across time and space'. (Ralph and Staeheli 2011: 15). According to these understandings, home is no longer primarily defined by fixed physicalities but mainly in terms of relationships or networks both to humans and non-humans (Ahmed et al 2003; Datta 2010; Nowicka 2007). Thus, home can be portable through space and time (Rouse 1991). As Ralph and Staeheli (2011: 1) remarked, despite the tendency in the literature to foreground the mobile and fluid elements of home by underplaying the durable ideas of stability and groundedness linked to it, the concept should accommodate both dynamic and more moored aspects to reflect its composite nature.

Home also acts as arena for personal and social identity formation (Papastergiadis 1998), simultaneously being a symbol and source of identity (Csíkszentmihályi and Rochberg-Halton 1981). It represents a person's subjective interpretation of the world (Mallett 2004: 83), and can be associated with feelings of 'safety, familiarity, comfort, love and belonging' (Lucas and Purkhayastha 2007: 244). However, these ideas have been increasingly challenged.

Although, as Ralph and Staeheli (2011: 1) emphasise, home is experienced as concurrently fixed and fluid sites, spaces, relationships and feelings not only by migrants but also by non-migrants, some aspects of home might be more salient for migrants. For them, home primarily could be conceptualised as 'accordion-like': it stretches from the

home left behind (often referred to as 'back home') to the newly carved out one (Ralph and Staeheli 2011: 1). Whilst home can be defined by movement (Westman 1991: 20), particularly in the case of highly mobile individuals (Nowicka 2007), it cannot be excluded that settled migrants (i.e. those that are not highly mobile) might wish to ground themselves in a more stable home. Places in their case might be linked to identity formation as well, as loci are defined by personal, social and cultural meanings, which provide a structure to everyday life (Proshansky et al. 1983; Cuba and Hummon 1993).

'Homing desire' (Brah 1996: 177) also appears exponentially in the literature on diasporas, this latter being a powerful conceptual framework to capture the contextually embedded and temporal nature of power relations, identities, and belonging (Brah 1996) with regards to groups of people who 'settled down elsewhere' (Brah 2014: 164).

To conclude, home is a composite phenomenon: it can be 'an emotional environment, a culture, a geographical location, a political system, an historical time and place, a house etc., and a combination of all of the above' (Tucker 1994: 184). Home ultimately can mean 'the centre of the world – not in a geographical, but in an ontological sense… the place from which the world can be founded' (Berger 1991: 55-56), observed and lived (Heller 1984). Despite its being theorised as disembodied and open-ended, it cannot entirely be detached from the physical realm.

For many participants, the abstract emotional statement of 'this is home' was a perfectly adequate reflection of integration on its own right. Other participants nevertheless sensed that without providing more concrete examples of what home meant for them, the concept would remain opaque. The narrated examples conceptualise home as physical and social environments, while the desire to return to the UK from abroad has also emerged as a theme strongly attached to home. The subsequent part of this section investigates these understandings of integration.

4.2.1 Physical Environment

The most common interpretation of home is linked to, or rather conflated with (Mallett 2004) a physical construction of home, such as the house (Bowlby et al. 1997; Giddens 1985). The assimilation of the concept of house with home as the immediate physical environment of everyday life appears in Amala's narrative:

> … this is our home and I feel we belong here because in this house I can say everything we've made ourselves. We had this kind of…we belong here because everything is how we

> wanted and because back home [in India] we come from a family where the family is very, very rich but nobody had to move an inch to acquire what they have got. They are living off their parents' and grandparents' hard work. Whereas me, I've found everything here via hard work, I made it for us and so you just feel this is where you belong. (Amala)

According to this understanding, home is closely linked to the physical place of the house. House has been a powerful topos for a very long time. It is a repository of personal symbols accumulated through life (Csíkszentmihályi and Rochberg-Halton 1981; Cuba and Hummon 1993), a kaleidoscope of a person's existence. It often acts as a background scene for everyday life, it is a starting and endpoint to it. We leave the house in the morning to go to work and in the evening we retreat to it (Nowicka 2007). We spend considerable amounts of time there; it is a place where one can relax, unwind (Moore, 1984) and where 'communitarian practices' are performed (Rapport and Dawson, 1998: 6).

House, in the literature, or house as the physical place representing home, has for a long time been thought to be a safe haven (Dovey 1985), the epitome of privateness with its limited visibility from the outer world (Allan and Crow 1989). This approach has recently been challenged, particularly due to increasingly publicised domestic violence cases, or in relation to people who were otherwise vulnerable in their home (e.g. Mallett 2004; Sibley 1995; Wardaugh 1999). The clear-cut division of private and public spaces, or the inside and outside (Altman and Werner 1985; Wardaugh 1999), has also been disputed. The private has become impregnated by the public, and vice versa, along lines of power and control, impacting on both the normative construction and social representation of the home (Ralph and Staeheli 2011: 15).

Although in Amala's narrative the concept of home might well be explained through the locus of the house, home nevertheless cannot be reduced to mere physicality; it is closely linked to belonging, identity and lived experiences in the new country.

Besides the house, home can be conceptualised as relationships with the locality (Brah 1996), or the wider physical environment of everyday life, such as familiar streets or pubs. This can be perceived from the account of Dipti, who recounted her experience of feeling at home in New York, where she had spent nearly a decade before moving to London:

> I was really integrated in New York, which I think of it as home. So if I walk a couple of streets … I see streets I used to live here or remember the time we were at that bar, it feels like very much at home. (Dipti)

The daily encounters with the inhabited locality bestow a feeling of attachment and familiarity, and familiarity is one of the primary markers of feeling at home (Nowicka 2007). Relationships with these spaces can later be relived in the form of memories, as Dipti did.

4.2.2 Social Environment

Home can be expressed as a familiar social environment defined by the presence of family members, close friends, acquaintances. For others, familiarity with the wider, societal level environment also engenders feelings of being at home.

For some participants, close presence of family members, friends or acquaintances (or the narrow social environment) contributed significantly to their feeling of being at home. This was the case of Gauri who explained how much it meant for her that her brother and his family, and also some of her very good friends from India, were living in the UK, although not in the same place. Links with wider social networks were also mentioned by Ravleen to express feelings of being at home, as 'sometimes I feel if I had more friends I would feel more at home [in the UK].' As Nowicka (2007) pointed out in her research on highly mobile professionals, those who travel frequently construct their homes in relation to people, and sometimes people and objects. Gauri may not be considered a highly mobile professional; however, the fact that she moved five times in the last five years within the UK due to job vacancies should not be disregarded.

Connecting home with the family is not a new phenomenon in the literature (Bowlby et al., 1997; Finch and Hayes 1994; Jones 1995, 2000). Many however challenged this strong but simplistic idea by emphasising its theoretically burdened nature and its groundedness in the White, middle class, nuclear family of Western heterosexual couples (Millett 2004; Leonard 1980; Hooks 1990; Wardaugh 1999).

Another example of the presence of acquaintances as home comes from Dipti's narrative. She mentioned, 'so if I walk a couple of streets I know people … it feels like very much at home'. Interestingly, the feeling of being at home, or in her case being integrated, can result not only from the presence of people with whom the participants have close bonds such as family members or good friends, but also more superficial

relationships are capable of conjuring such feeling. A more poignant illustration for this is Radha's case when she talked about her friends 'with whom' she thought to be integrated:

> I am integrated with the people I know. … I have friends in the market who give me cheese when I don't have any money, free of course because they have known me for twenty years. … For me these things mean a lot. When I come back my vegetable man looks at me and says, where the hell were you for five months we haven't seen you. … My friends are people in the market, my friends are people, one my vegetable man, my cheese man, my milkman, they are my friends. Would I miss them when I go? Yes of course I would miss them when I go, but wherever I go I might hopefully make new friends. (Radha)

In her understanding integration was a home, construed out of relationships with people, which however could not be entirely detached from a fixed physical space (Ahmed et al. 2003; Datta 2010; Nowicka 2007), and therefore which was 'simultaneously and indivisibly a spatial and a social unit of interaction' (Saunders and Williams (1988: 82). However, the physicality of the relationships is fluid and portable through space and time (Rouse 1991: 8). It is interesting that although the narrated relationships were fleeting, they still were capable of eliciting feelings of attachment, which is in opposition to the belief that 'weak ties', emanating from for instance occasional 'everyday encounters' (Amin 2002) or 'everyday life micro-publics' (Valentine 2008) would not be adequate to create feelings of connectedness to people, upon which belonging was built (Antonsich 2010: 9). In this sense, as opposed to belonging to a geographical space or to an ethnicity, belonging is linked to a 'situation', to fleeting everyday encounters (Amin 2005: 9).

For others, the feeling of being at home was largely defined by the ability to comprehend society, or as Soraya put it, 'what it is that makes the society tick' (discussed in Chapter 5).

4.2.3 Desire to Return to the UK

Integration was also explained as a desire to return home to Britain after some time spent abroad, especially in the country of origin. Lakshmi declared, 'this [the UK] is home because I want to come back', or Amala explained, 'we feel we want to go back home [to the UK] and this [the UK] is home now'. Westman (1991) and Nowicka (2007) argued that the feeling of being at home could be triggered by movement or travel away and back. Furthermore, it might not be irrelevant that the British home is

outside the scope of the rules, norms and routines of the extended family in India, and, in general, Indian society.

4.3 Being Part

Some participants conceptualised integration as 'being part' of something.

In the realm of social psychology, feeling part of, or being member of a group is an important facet of the concept of 'psychological sense of community' (Sarason 1974; McMillan and Chavis 1986; Hill 1996), which rests on the basic human need to belong to and to identify with something. Membership in this sense can be equated with the feeling of belonging, of being part of something (Backman and Secord 1959 in McMillan and Chavis 1986: 9-10). Yet, membership creates boundaries, as well, which are increasingly looked at in the literature through the binary lens of inclusion/exclusion (e.g. Bhabra 2006; Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008; Lovell 1998).

Belonging is a multi-layered and ideologically-laden concept. It can be explored at various analytical levels, ranging from the personal, affective dimensions (Yuval et al. 2005; Antonsich 2010) to the public aspects of the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006: 197) often materialised in formal membership status, such as citizenship (Crowley 199; Bauböck 2005). Yet, belonging in the sense of feeling part of a group may be best construed as individuals' emotional attachments and identifications (Yuval-Davis 2006: 199), which develop from long-standing positive (Baumeister and Leary 1995) practices of day-to-day life (Fenster 2005). Some argue that the individual's unilateral emotional position might not be enough to feel that one belongs; rather, the person should also be recognised in a meaningful way as being part of the group (Runnymede 2000; Buonfino and Thomson 2007).

As Strang and Ager pointed out, certain groups of migrants, such as refugees, have a 'strong motivation' to belong to the society they live in (2004 and 2010: 595). Notwithstanding the prevalence of this idea in the migration literature, it is important to acknowledge that the concept of belonging is by no means exclusive to migrants. Migration or movement may well activate and reconfigure patterns of belonging; however, emotional attachment would still be a decisive feature (Fortier 2000: 2). To feel attached to or part of something, be it a real or imagined group, entity, ideology, etc., is a basic human need.

This section will thus investigate participants' understanding of integration as a feeling of being part of something. Firstly, entities that participants felt they were part of will be looked at ('being part of what?'). This will be followed by examples illustrating this feeling ('how are they being part of?').

4.3.1 Being Part of What?

In the accounts of the participants, the entity they referred to as being part of was always construed as a very vague and hardly tangible one, such as 'the whole' (Arundhati), 'society' (Lakshmi), 'Britain' (Lakshmi), and 'the system' (Madhuri). Yet, a common denominator was such entities' position as they represented the highest-level socio-spatial categories in wider society. In this respect, they were synonyms of each other. The comprehensive nature of such categories might also reflect the interviewees' wish for cognitive immersion in the entirety of the host country.

However, it is interesting to note that one of the participants qualifies this general society concept by specifying that it is the 'majority society' that she would become part of.

> For me integration would be I become part of the society. Which means I become part of the majority society, right? (Lakshmi)

The concept of 'majority society' is neither clear-cut in her narrative, nor is it possible to define in a conclusive way. It is nevertheless thought-provoking that the interviewed migrants were not only well aware of the heterogeneity of the host society but believed that they were expected to integrate in the 'majority' or 'mainstream'. Such an assumption raises concerns. Research highlighted that integration did not necessarily take place in the form of incorporation in the mainstream (more examples of this can be found in Chapter 2, Literature Review). For instance, Zhou (1997) argued by way of her segmented assimilation theory that society was a complex 'system of stratification' and second generation migrants might integrate (or 'assimilate', as she termed it) into different, not necessarily mainstream or majority, layers of society.

4.3.2 Being Part - How?

But in what way is a person in fact being part of something? Participants unpacked this idea and made it more concrete through the following examples.

A very specific example for 'being part of the whole' was Arundhati's, when she discussed how her 'lifestyle choices have changed ever since I [she] came here [to the

UK]'. She was affording and enjoying not only everyday luxuries of buying coffee for £2, which 'in India this would be, like, ridiculous', but embraced other types of luxuries, as she became now 'part of a culture where people enjoy skiing and go every year'. Being part of the whole in her case manifested in embracing certain habits or activities of a select, privileged group of people that she could identify with, and that she perceived to be representative of the whole. This not only highlights the heterogeneous nature of British society, where there is no one homogeneous British 'culture', but also testifies to a migrant's tendency to wish to associate with similar, often native, others and be associated with them.

Being 'part of the system' was explained by Madhuri in a similarly specific way by talking about her method of preparing for and passing the IELTS language test and some dental exams to be able to practise as a dentist in the UK. For her if there existed 'already a set system, which I [Madhuri] could just follow and learn things', this was sufficient for her to feel she could become part of the system. In her account, a system (or society) was equated with clear sets of rules regulating aspects of the whole. Following rules that 'felt… were very clear, very fair, and that is what integration means to me…', helped to navigate new social contexts, and thus significantly impacted integration.

Others illustrated the abstract conception of 'being part of' with identically abstract ideas. For instance, the statement 'I feel part of society because I value the values or the ideals of British society' (Lakshmi) made such a feeling particularly difficult to deconstruct without exploring the nature of 'values and ideals of British society', provided these existed, at the same time as considering the subjectivities of individual perspectives. Being part, in another account, 'means engaging with and contributing meaningfully' (Soraya). As this argument was not further specified, it was not clear for instance with whom one wished to engage or how one contributed in a meaningful way. Nevertheless, it is conspicuous that for these actions, migrants' agency was required. These examples not only highlighted the elusiveness of the concept of integration, but could suggest that integration was seen as obvious by the participants.

4.4 Feeling Comfortable

'Feeling comfortable' was a recurring theme in the participants' accounts of integration. Comfort did not have one single meaning for the participants. The areas where the

feeling of being comfortable emerged were primarily related to affective, emotional comfort (such as being comfortable or at peace with one's own identity, comfortable social relations, or understanding the system), and to a lesser extent in relation to physical comfort (reference to the social welfare net). In his work on increasing discomfort felt by migrants in post-2001 Australia, Noble conceptualised comfort as a feeling experienced in various ways, ranging from material through sensory to emotional satisfaction, and of various dimensions, which 'referred to and bundled together affective, symbolic and interpersonal qualities' (2005: 113).

From a psychological perspective, comfort could be seen as the combination of trust, confidence and general well-being (Jones 1995). However, as Noble pointed out, comfort was a 'fit in' experience into a specific social context, and could be best understood as higher-level power relations instead of simply viewing it as an individual's psychological disposition (2005: 114).

In the next section I will endeavour to shed light on meanings that participants attributed to the notion of comfort as an understanding of integration.

4.4.1 Being Comfortable with Own Identity

Certain participants described integration as a state of mind of being comfortable or being at peace with one's own identity.

> Integration for me is actually being at peace. That you feel, you don't feel uncomfortable about any place or moment or time of what you are, what your roots are and where you are. So I think it is a feeling of being stable and that peace feeling, I am not unease or ill ease at something that is being thrown at me. (Sushila)

> I guess I would say it [integration] means being comfortable wherever you are and not feeling intimidated because of your identity. That's integration. If you are comfortable, if you are at peace with your identity vis-à-vis a country you are living in, that is integration. … So yes, it is being comfortable, it is being accepting that you are where you are, who you are, and how you are going to feel comfortable. (Fareeda)

The highly general idea of 'being comfortable with one's identity' is a special type of integration definition. It cannot easily (or at all) be subsumed under any categories of the generally accepted, widely used categorisation of integration, such as social integration (e.g. establishment of new social networks), cultural integration (e.g. cultural adjustment), functional (e.g. labour market participation) (Snel et al. 2006), or

political integration. Gidley and Jayaweera (2010:41) coined the term 'identity integration' to emphasise a distinct type of integration embodied in the intensity of migrants' feelings about being part of or belonging to a geographic place or country. The understanding of integration investigated in this section however at first sight did not seem to refer to identity as a measure of emotional and/or cognitive closeness to the host country, or to the category of 'us' equated with the host country (except in Darshana's case). On the contrary, it was a state of mind seemingly unattached to specific geographical spaces. It was used by participants to describe a state of emotional balance articulated through the common identity features of 'what/who you are', or 'what your roots are'. 'Being in harmony with one's identity' as an understanding of integration reflected the need to acknowledge that one's pre-migration identity still existed after migration, although often in a slightly amended form. Instead of discarding it, it was thought to serve as a resource for mental balance, greatly contributing to integration.

Identity, however, is a complex abstraction. Burke and Tully defined it as 'a set of "meanings" applied to the self in a social role or situation defining what it means to be who one is' (1977: 837). It is a fluid idea, constantly shaped and reconfigured in different social landscapes (Blumer 1969). A person shapes her identity, whilst being shaped by the latter. Identity cannot be dissociated from social and geographical contexts, and as such is not impervious to volatilities in the socio-political environment of the host country. This can clearly be seen from Fareeda's narrative, when she explained, the meaning of integration was when you did not 'feel intimidated because of your own [Muslim] identity'. The word 'intimidate' is a particularly strong expression; it has connotations of menace and demonstrations of power. For many (see, for instance, Noble 2005), including Fareeda, Muslim identity became more pronounced over time and particularly after 9/11, as a reaction to displays of hostility and public harassment, or as Gardner called it, 'uncivil attention' (1995: 92) from the non-Muslim population. For her, therefore, being comfortable and at peace with her Muslim identity and at the same time not feeling harassed on account of that was of utmost importance, and could thus shape her understanding of integration. Not surprisingly, other research on understandings of integration also found that 'preserving the identity' was a key element of integration (EAVES, Settling-In, 2015).

The next example scrutinises integration similarly from an identity viewpoint but stressing a slightly divergent aspect. In Darshana's case, integration meant 'not feeling a foreigner'. This state of mind, or identity affirmation, surmised a decisive process of

negotiation between identity and belonging. She implied a type of self-disidentification (Stone 1962), or as McCall (2003) called it, a reactive identity work, where identity ('us') was claimed through disidentification from 'others'. At this point, it is important to distinguish between 'being' and 'feeling'; not feeling a foreigner in most cases could not be equated with not being one, as *feeling* one described an affective state of mind while *being* one was generally defined along more objective, non-negotiable lines, often grounded in rigid immigration statuses. Yet, interestingly, Killian and Johnson (2006) pointed out in their research on people of North African origin living in France that both 'being' and 'feeling' were fluid and socially constructed categories, highlighting that some of their interviewees who had recently migrated to France did not consider themselves as immigrants. In the frame of the 'us'/'others' conceptual dichotomy, Darshana's statement testified to a strong affective identification with the 'us' by detaching herself, at least psychologically, from the 'others'. Nevertheless, not feeling 'other' (or implicitly feeling 'us'), should not be conflated with how others perceived them. Thus, perceptions of integration were strongly shaped by individuals' subjective realities and materialised in personal emotional responses.

4.4.2 Comfortable Social Relations

Feeling 'quite' or 'more or less comfortable' (Shashi) regarding particular aspects of social relations was for some a litmus test for integration. Scholars researching group dynamics posit that having interpersonal relations is a basic human need, regardless of the individual's social, cultural or geographical environment (Menzies and Davidson 2002; Mellor et al. 2008), as these relations contribute to the formation of the Self (Prodgers 1999). However, what is the nature of interpersonal relations that make an individual migrant feel integrated? This section will investigate the participants' understandings of integration as comfortable social relations.

Shashi defined the sentiment of being 'quite' or 'more or less' comfortable principally in terms of the ability to communicate with others in a satisfying way. She recounted,

> I feel quite comfortable here, and I can communicate properly, fine … That way I'm quite comfortable. I think integration if you consider it as the ability to adjust to a different society and people, and to communicate with them more or less in a comfortable way, so yes I am integrated.

Qualifying the term comfortable with the adjectives 'quite' or 'more or less' revealed that she might not have achieved the state of being fully comfortable in the host

country yet. However, could a migrant ever feel the same cosy comfortableness (or the memory of such) in relation to a place different from where the formative years (or a longer period in one's childhood) were spent? Would that be only a matter of time spent in the host country? Who might be responsible for not feeling fully comfortable in the host country, the migrant and/or the host society? Or did she simply express herself in a 'very English' way by using too many tentative words? Unfortunately, her account cannot provide answers to these intriguing questions.

Ravleen recounted a more specific example for feeling socially comfortable. For her, feeling integrated meant being able to pop into friends' or acquaintances' houses without having to negotiate when and how this could happen. She explained that in India one could visit a friend just by knocking on the door, without the need for previous notification. She contrasted such easy-going practice with more formal and circuitous British practice, and concluded that this difference in 'culture' made her integration process difficult.

4.4.3 Understanding the System

Being able to 'understand the system' can result in the more general feeling of being comfortable and at ease. The already cited Shashi described how apart from communicating with others, a general understanding of 'how things work' in the UK greatly contributed to her feeling of being integrated. She shared with us:

> I feel quite comfortable here, and I can communicate properly, fine, and understand most of the systems here or how to get about finding things. I understand what my rights and responsibilities and duties are. That way I'm quite comfortable.

The same understandings of integration emerged in a recent study on migrant women conducted by EAVES (2015).

4.4.4 Social Welfare

It is argued that the UK provides more tangible physical comfort through its social welfare system and safety net, as mentioned by one of the participants. Access to healthcare and food was more universal in the UK than in India, as 'they [the British state] look after you … you know that you will not die on the road or you will not starve to death' (Darshana). Gurpreet also shared this idea when she explained,

> [H]ere [in the UK] if you don't have money, the government is paying you. Over there [in India], if you don't have a job, you don't have money, they starve to death, as well. The government will not going to give you a single penny.

Interestingly, these statements were made by persons whose financial situation would normally not compel them to dwell on social security issues. This might amplify the importance of social security as more than a mere personal issue.

4.5 Feeling Safe and Secure

Another particularly pronounced theme in the participants' narratives was the feeling of being safe in the UK. Two important aspects of this issue were immediately conspicuous.

Firstly, most of the interviewees broached the topic of security, some of them gingerly alluded to it, but the majority openly discussed the issue in greater detail. It was remarkable that participants who were from different states of India, with various primary languages and differing cultures, educational qualifications and professional experiences, of different age groups, family situations and entry routes to the UK, mostly agreed that this issue was of utmost importance and greatly contributed to their feeling of being integrated into British society. Secondly, there is an assumption in the literature that the issue of security is essentially relevant to people migrating from areas of political instability, civil war or where one's life is in danger, i.e. to refugees. For instance, in their study on refugee integration in the local communities of Pollokshaws and Islington, Ager and Strang recounted that for the interviewed refugees, integration was closely linked to personal safety and peace between communities (2004: 3). The highly educated participants in this research, however, came from major cities and business hubs of an important democratic country without apparent political instability or civil war. Why then was security so high on their approach to the concept of integration?

Literature shows that ontological security (Giddens 1990), which could be equated with trust in our social and physical environment, is indispensable to a person's life (Noble 2005). Trust was seen more as a psychological and affective abstraction than a cognitive one, and was linked to everyday experiences (Silverstone 1994). Others, however, argued that although trust was often considered in psychological terms (Leledakis 1995), it was essentially a social phenomenon despite being experienced at the level of the

individual (Noble 2005: 114).

The security considerations of the interviewees revolved around rape, domestic violence, and oppression of women in general. Thus, feeling secure, as it transpired from their accounts, was primarily a gendered issue. As already stated, for most participants feeling secure meant feeling physically safe as a woman; not fearing that one could become the victim of sexual violence when out in public spaces. Domestic violence issues also emerged in the interviews, albeit sparingly. However, due to the private and highly emotive nature of this topic, I refrained from exploring it further and let the interviewees share with me only those feelings and experiences that they were comfortable sharing with me. Contrary to the assumption that sexual violence was age-sensitive and younger women were more 'at risk' of being targeted, middle-aged and older participants also expressed concerns related to the phenomenon.

This section will explore the fundamental need of a woman to feel secure in society, especially in public spaces, be it in the country of origin or in the host society. The topic was either directly related to the participants' understandings of integration, or constituted a hugely emotive side-topic that was linked to integration but not necessarily to the understanding of integration. This sentiment was articulated by way of contrasting narratives related to the two countries, India and the UK. Considering the topic's prevalence in the interviews as well as its significance, it is indispensable to discuss it in more depth.

4.5.1 Fear of Being Raped

The theme of rape or physical vulnerability of women emerged in many of the interviews. It is remarkable that although the interviews attempted to shed light on understandings of integration and topics primarily related to that, the generally undisclosed act of rape and the broader category of violence against women were heavily represented in the narratives by contrasting the security situations in the two countries. Despite Riger and Gordon's (1981: 71) argument that women with the least economic and social resources feared becoming rape victims more, the interviewees, most of whom were financially and socially well-grounded, clearly displayed a strong fear of rape. It is however important to note that most of the literature on fear of crime and more specifically on fear of rape was based on pieces of research conducted in countries of the global North (e.g. LaGrange and Ferraro 1989; Lee 1982; Ortega and Myles 1987).

Feeling physically secure in contexts revealed by the migrant women, as already mentioned, appeared to be above all a gendered issue. As Devika explains

> I am thinking in terms of gender now, as a woman security is something that is always on your mind when you are back in our country like in India.

Brownmiller contended that rape was a mean of social control, 'a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear' (1975: 15). From this it ensued that all women were affected by the crime of rape, irrespective of having actually become a victim of rape or not (Russell 1975). These arguments were embraced by some and heavily criticised by others, yet they seemed to be in line with participants' views linked to fear of rape.

The fear of being harassed or maltreated simply on account of being a woman had permeated many participants' everyday life in India. The narrated everyday life situations included commuting to work, going home alone at night, dealing with authorities in power such as the police, or emanating from the mere fact of being a woman. This feeling was even more pronounced in bigger cities, such as Delhi and Mumbai, where the majority of the interviewees had been living before relocating to the UK. It was interesting to observe that although most participants currently lived in London, which city in many respects corresponded to their cities of origin, they still felt safe and secure. Therefore, such sentiment may not necessarily be linked to life in urban areas in general but rather to the nature of Indian (possibly) urban spaces, and Indian social institutions. As most of the participants came from urban areas, in the frame of this research it was not possible to prove the validity of such an argument in relation to Indian rural areas.

Some accounts revealed security issues and real fear related to walking home alone at night, such as Devika's, when she explained,

> I know that women generally are much safer here [in the UK] as opposed to Delhi, I can return home 12 o'clock, midnight, not fearing about my life or being raped or anything like that. (Devika)

Maya recounted a similar situation, and revealed how she managed such situations by seeking the help of a male companion from within the family, previously her father and later her husband.

> I don't feel scared [in the UK] while going out on Monday night which was the case in Delhi that being a girl, it's very difficult there for going out late night for parties, you always have to have somebody with you or picking you up. Like my father used to come, when you are done tell me and give me a call, and afterwards it was my husband. (Maya)

It is argued that the practice of seeking male protection when going out to public places restricts women's freedom of movement, and thus the fear of rape reinforces social dominance of men (Riger and Gordon 1981: 72).

The following quotation was a colourful and at the same time stirring example of everyday fear linked to commuting to work in Mumbai using public transportation. It not only described the participant's attitude when overwhelmed by fear in India but also shed light on longer-term psychological effects 'imported' from India, which still operated, at least for a while, in the host country.

> In Bombay there are different compartments for men and women and all the men are pretty much quite would fill you up. Like for a girl it is really dangerous and disgusting to be honest. So I was always on guard, very much on guard, careful about who is coming in and close to me. And when I came here [to the UK], everyone is the same in the tube. And I seemed very nervous when some men came next to me. … And now I can literally calm myself down because I know now that they would not fill you up. This happens now in London but when I go in Bombay I am back in guard. (Arundhati)

This could be one of the reasons why another participant remembered, 'in India I never travelled on my own, never' (Navdeep). Another account, more of a general nature, widened the fear factor felt at night or in close physical proximity with men to basically every public appearance of women in Delhi by stating that 'if you are a women walking in Delhi, you have 100% chance of being molested or maybe raped or maybe torn apart' (Fareeda). This was in accordance with Brownmiller's (1975) already cited controversial statement.

The likelihood of being raped was not only associated with urban life but was also raised in the context of dealing with forces of power, such as the police. The police are the main social institution of a state, maintaining internal law and order and dealing

with crime. However, in Darshana's account, going to the police entailed a serious risk of being raped.

> I feel more comfortable, secure [in the UK] and yeah. … Or you will go to police [in the UK] and they will write your complaints, not like in India, what is happening is that you go there to report rape and they will rape you.

Sitara also commented on the 'patriarchal attitude in police in India' in relation to domestic violence cases that she became acquainted with as a police translator in the UK, when she dealt with domestic violence cases of Indian women as well. Her remarks revealed a deep lack of trust in the institution and could raise fear in women who may believe, ultimately they could not seek help in the event of sexual violence.

Also, the fear of being raped was not solely confined to younger participants. It was detectable in the narratives of people in the highest age group of the research (60 years +), as well. For instance, Sitara shed light on this phenomenon by stating '[I]n the West, whether it is Europe, Africa, Australia, there are old people who have been murdered, raped, mugged, it happens. But the chance of it happening in India was much more'. Age played a major role in Radha's case, as well. When she experienced a situation she felt threatened to be raped, she tried to negotiate with her potential rapists using 'old age' as a plausible argument (although she certainly could not be considered old, yet was indeed older than her abusers), which argument was not well received. She furthermore needed to seek help from a person who 'must have been younger' than she was but was male and possibly exuding authority. The incident's peculiarity was that it did not take place in India, but happened in Bradford (UK) long after she had moved to this country. Perhaps the most startling aspect of the case was that it involved 'three Pakistani kids' living in the UK, or as Radha called them, her 'own types'.

> I have seen this in Bradford, I remember when I got … I was teased by three Pakistani kids, who couldn't have been more than twenty, I must have been forty and I turned back and said, you know what, I am old enough to be your grandmother, so don't tease me, and I have never been so scared in my life and this was at twelve o'clock at night, I was walking from […] after hearing a talk, having a drink with a friend and going back to the dorms where I was for the night. And I have never been so…, [in] India I sometimes feel spooky walking in some lonely place, I am like oh, shit, I am going to be raped here. And I felt that in Bradford and funnily enough it did not come from some white people, it came from my own types. And I just turned around and I said look, I am your grandma's age, don't follow me and it wasn't well taken, so I had to… It was scary, I had to go to a guy, some mullah with some beard, he

> must have been younger than me and I had to go and look at him and uncle please, help me, these guys are behind me.

To conclude, it is not clear to what extent the previous accounts mirror valid fear; this research neither intends nor attempts to uncover this issue. Nevertheless, it is striking how deeply engrained this theme is in participants' narratives. The 2012 Delhi gang rape case, its widespread Indian and international media coverage and subsequent public protests in India against central authorities may have contributed to the open discussion of the topic by the participants, despite their living in the UK, often for longer periods of time.

4.5.2 Further Types of Violence against Women

Rape was not the only gendered security issue brought up by the participants. Physical vulnerability of women in general could be perceived in different situations, mainly related to domestic life, including single motherhood, or generally emanating from the power imbalance between men and women. As Satish Kumar et al. posited, gender-based violence was a 'largely accepted part of family life in India' (2002: 12), and as such was a crucial issue there (Martin et al. 2002).

Sitara left India a long time ago as a 23-year-old single mother. She explained the reason behind her coming to the UK by stating, '[B]ecause in India still, if you have a child when you are not married they will kill you. There is still murders happening'. Darshana, another victim of maltreatment, managed to run away from a relationship burdened with domestic oppression, which had a fundamental impact on her feeling of being integrated in the UK.

> I was quite at ease actually [after I arrived to the UK]. Maybe because I suffered so much back there [in India], anything was welcome, I don't think… we integrated well, me and my kids, I think. (Darshana)

The divorced Lakshmi also disclosed the fact that she felt safe in the UK. For all of the above interviewees, life in the UK primarily provided an opportunity to live a life free of fear, without the ultimate fear for her own and her children's life. It also provided hope for a new beginning, free from any social 'scarlet letters'.

According to Madhuri, the power imbalance between men and women permeated all aspects and social relations of Indian society. She explained,

> in India women are always sectored away whether you are good-looking, whether you are educated, you are rich, you are poor, the whole system is built in so that the man dominate. You know how much they say it's all equal and everything, it's like when it comes to working, for example if somebody came to me and it was a man and he would dominate and he would say okay this is what I want, just do it.

Many participants, therefore, 'do feel safer in England as a woman, definitely' (Madhuri). This feeling of being safe and secure brought about unprecedented levels of peace of mind ('It gives me peace of mind that… it gives me sense of security because I know that women generally are much safer here as opposed to Delhi' (Devika)), getting used to which was naturally not problematic. The feeling of being secure thus greatly contributed to the participants' feeling of being integrated in the host country of the UK.

4.6 Feeling Free and Independent

As Ryan (2003) found in her study on Irish migrants in the UK, migrating meant not only challenges to face but also freedom and independence. This was not different from how many participants felt, many of whom linked integration to the feeling of being free and independent. The EAVES study Settling In (2015) also recorded independence as a main understanding of integration amongst migrant women in the UK.

Freedom in the sense recounted by the interviewees primarily reflected liberation from social conventions mainly related to family life (and thus the private space), enforced by parents or older relatives within the extended family. It is remarkable that even the highly educated, urbanite women participants recounted that they were expected to bow, to a great extent, to the described social norms, like their less-educated women counterparts in rural areas. From individual freedom sprouted independence.

4.6.1 Freedom from Social Conventions related to Family Life

Participants' accounts abounded with remarks related to family obligations that needed to be painstakingly navigated while living in India. This shed light on the many aspects of Indian family life largely governed by general social norms and habits and closely monitored by more mature family members. As Gauri explained, there was not too much scope to manoeuvre,

> [T]here is no option of saying no, that's just part of the culture. Or if somebody, like a parent or somebody has asked you to do and you do it. … That is how the society works. You don't know that you have other choice.

The following examples ranged from pre-marital living conditions, through marital commitments, to duties towards the extended family. As practices and habits in the private space appeared to be particularly divergent in the home and host countries, interviewees frequently described their life in the UK by contrasting them with their lived experience or what they believed to be widespread practice in India.

Life in the UK was seen to provide a woman with the chance to live with a partner without being married to the person, which, as Arundhati put it, was 'unheard of in India' (although it is not inappropriate to mention at this point that Arundhati did later marry the person she had been living with). Being in the UK also allowed women to choose not to live with and thus not to be mandatorily financially and emotionally dependent on a person, typically the husband. As Navdeep pointed out,

> If I was in India married to an Indian man, I would not have the same independence and obviously for everything you have to ask your husband.

Sitara described her situation of living alone in the UK by pointing out that 'you are not dependent for your existence on someone who happens to be a man'. The wish for general existential freedom was particularly conspicuous in the narratives of single mother interviewees. Darshana, who experienced domestic maltreatment, explained how much she felt at home in Britain,

> because I was free to do [in the UK] what I wanted to do, I was free to buy stuff, I was free to let them [her children] have good life, eat fruit, have milk, whatever they wanted. In the beginning like I will take them to the market and say buy anything you like … I have never ever was allowed even to buy a little cup or something.

However, freedom was also cherished by married, working women who gained financial and consequently other types of freedom through their job. As an illustration of how financial freedom translated into domestic power, Navdeep compared her life to her cousins' in India who

> look after themselves but for every little thing they have to ask their husbands, because they don't work they don't have independence. I work so I have my say.

However, working outside the home for a married woman could be problematic, even in the case of highly educated women. Apart from the husband, others, mainly the in-laws, could curtail their freedom, especially if they lived in close physical proximity to them, as was mostly the case. According to Mandeep,

> [S]ome women are really very highly educated but because of in-laws they can't go out for the job, they say you have your children, look after them, that's enough for you.

She added, the limitations on freedom did not only relate to working life but permeated all areas of life, whether private or public, where action was subject to the approval of the in-laws.

> You don't have that much personal life… you have to go to your mother-in-law, father-in-law, okay, can I do this?, can I go there? If they give you permission, then you go.

This was in conformity with what Khanna and Varghese (1978: 47) argued that traditionally in Indian families, especially in extended families, the woman was aware that 'she cannot always have a say in family matters'.

Another interesting aspect of achieved personal freedom also emerged from the narratives. To be free not to attend family events and fulfil related social engagements may not be seen as a particularly powerful example. However, for Sushila, integration in the UK could be equated with peace of mind experienced when these mandatory obligations ceased to be part of her daily life. The extra free time that finally she, as a qualified doctor, gained, could be entirely spent on further medical studies and her children.

> I also felt weird when I came here initially and said why do I feel so much at peace? And I attributed it to the fact that I don't need to worry about any social engagements anymore. And even though sort of what I am going to do for the day?, I was very happy to cook with whatever, even if it is English vegetables I had, I didn't have Indian vegetables. I was very happy to cook up a salad, have that variety integrated. But that peace was more important to me, not having to … [think about] whose engagement to attend, how to plan a story for this one, how to refuse this one and how to accept this invitation. (Sushila)

To summarise, by throwing off the shackles of social and family conventions and the scrutinies of Indian life, many of the participants experienced more individual freedom

in the UK, which shaped and amounted to their understandings of integration. This affected all aspects of their life, or as one of the interviewees explained,

> [Y]eah it's the whole lifestyle, it's the way of life, it is the independence of I can do anything I want to do. If I want to go out I can go out, there is no restriction on me. … here [in the UK] I can be myself and I can choose to do things that I want to do. (Amala)

Interestingly, this freedom has also been described by Wirth, although in the context of migration from rural to urban areas, as an 'individual gain', 'a certain degree of emancipation or freedom from the personal and emotional controls of intimate groups' (1938: 3). More individual freedom eventually led to more independence, which will briefly be reflected upon in the next section.

4.6.2 Independence and Self-Reliance

Living in the UK not only generated liberating distance from cumbersome family obligations, but also from the way of life cushioned by the domestic workforce in the home. The participants, who mainly came from financially privileged backgrounds, experienced often for the first time that their house would not stay clean on its own, their food would not be cooked for them by mealtime, and nobody would wash and iron their clothes. These were taken for granted in India. This realisation was well explained in the following passage, also revealing that class position (or more precisely being of a higher class) may not be a decisive factor in the widespread practice of outsourcing domestic labour.

> … even if you are in lower middle class, you will [have] somebody to clean your house and iron your clothes, wash and iron your clothes. So somebody will be there definitely but because the labour is cheap there. Here [in the UK] when we came, then I had to do everything. (Maya)

It would not come as a surprise that a great number of younger participants did not know how to cook and one 'had my mum on Skype everyday telling me how to cook daal and stuff' (Devika), while another 'learned everything here by Google' (Maya). Ironically, the recognition that the participants themselves were responsible for performing these tiresome tasks had not had a negative effect on their attitude towards life in the UK. On the contrary, many of them reported how self-reliance made them more independent and overall more empowered, despite the compulsory nature of housework. As Devika said,

> [I]t has been tough but I don't mind here [in the UK] because the thing is that at the end of the day it is making you much more self-reliant, much more responsible as a person, individualist also. And at the end of the day, you have got to realise that in order to grow as an individual, you have to be self-reliant.

And being 'more independent, you are self-sufficient yourself, so you can manage without anyone being with you or not having help' (Madhuri). The liberating feeling of independence thus grew into a prominent feature of participants' daily life in the UK. Along these lines, it defined their feeling of being integrated.

4.7 Conclusion

The principal objective of this chapter was to explore understandings of integration of the highly educated, higher class women participants, which they frequently conceptualised as affective ideas and emotional responses to their everyday life in the UK as their host country. Although understandings of integration vary greatly from person to person based on their individual experiences, histories, circumstances and backgrounds (EAVES 2015), and should be contextually and temporally embedded, certain recurring ideas could still be distinguished from the participants' narratives. The following feelings were equated with integration: 'this is home', 'being part of' 'being comfortable', 'feeling safe and secure', 'feeling free and independent'. They describe emotional responses in the form of mind frames, which, although experienced at individual and personal level, are socially constructed. Such affective responses to integration bear similarities with elements of the integration definition presented in a recent report on settling in the UK of migrant women (EAVES 2015). Although the latter research investigated understandings of integration of a significantly more heterogeneous group of women, where the route of entry was the main research participation criterion, these aspects of the findings still appear to converge. Therefore, emotive states of mind equated with understandings of integration, I believe, should not be discarded. Particularly, as these abstract perceptions were deemed perfectly adequate and self-contained for the participants. Yet, most participants illustrated these intangible ideas with specific examples drawn from their everyday life as if in an attempt to clarify their content. To that end, these abstractions cannot and should not be hermetically detached from more concrete comprehensions of integration. Instead, these two facets should be considered in conjunction. The reason this chapter focuses solely on affective understandings of integration, therefore, is chiefly methodological. However, it should

be noted that despite the significance of the reported feelings for the migrant participants, emotional comprehensions of integration have been largely omitted from policy discourses. In particular, these latter focus primarily on structures, and requirements for migrants to exercise agency, that play out in integration-related practices. As this research demonstrates, emotive aspects of integration seem to be as important for migrants as the more tangible and socially acclaimed ones (such as being active on the labour market).

Each of the enumerated affective approaches, in its pure form, reflects a *state* as opposed to being a *process*. This is in contrast with the prevailing discourse in the integration literature, which conceptualises integration as a process (becoming) rather than a state (being). Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that such states cannot be achieved without linked integration processes, hence the total disjuncture of such theoretically pure categories, in reality, may not occur. To understand integration as purely abstract affective perceptions could negate the notion of integration as it is comprehended in policy and academic literature. The purpose of this research is certainly not to overturn the prevalent understandings of integration, but to challenge and possibly fine-tune them by enriching the discourses with the voices of highly educated migrant women. It should therefore not be disregarded that the perceptions of integration narrated in this chapter encompass only the affective parts of the concept and as such are only partial representations of the whole. To gain a rounder comprehension of the interviewed women's understandings of integration, it is imperative to complement the emotional responses as comprehensions of integration with more tangible, action-orientated ones, some of which will be discussed in the next Chapter 5.

Moreover, such univocally articulated feelings assert stability and thus reflect a desire for stasis in the participant migrants' lives. Interpreting integration in this manner, I believe, recognises the basic human emotional needs, endeavours and aspirations of the individual migrants in relation to their adopted societies, and avoids neglecting personal affective approaches to social life in the host country (Papademetriou and Benton 2016: 2).

It appears the emotive interpretations of integration described above are general basic psychological needs applicable to all human beings, not only to migrants. For instance, a native Brit who has never moved away from her town of birth would most probably have these same core psychological needs as the participants in this research who arrived as migrants from a far-away country. These emotional responses appearing in everyday life

therefore cannot be linked exclusively to migration. Also, interestingly, they seem to be, to a certain degree, universal in their scope. In particular, as they reflect such emotional mind-sets and affections that could emerge in all humans, regardless of gender, age, ethnicity, level of education, class, language knowledge, etc.

However, such a statement should be considered to have serious limitations. The inspected emotional postulations as understandings of integration should not be interpreted separately from their social, geographical and historical contexts. On the contrary, it is hugely important to contextualise them by embedding in their respective environments. A major issue to be considered is that such emotive approaches to integration, I propose, are highly gendered. This is especially apparent from the parts of this chapter where participants describe their feelings of being secure as an understanding of integration in the UK context. Such an emotional state can be fundamental for a woman who may have experienced at least the threat of gendered physical or psychological abuse. Similarly, being independent as chief attribute of integration may be connected to previously endured gendered social expectations and practices. Hence, gender is a powerful determinative theoretical lens through which this chapter's apprehensions of integration should be inspected.

At this point, it is essential to consider the concept of vulnerability in relation to the highly educated women interviewees. Vulnerability is an adjective regularly used in migration studies in relation to lower-skilled women (e.g. Morokvasic 1984; Anderson 2000; Parrenas 2001), or even to women in general, as can be observed, for example, in forced migration studies (cf. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014). I do not argue that the highly educated, highly skilled women participants in this research were not vulnerable. Nevertheless, I am convinced, vulnerability, in the notion's broader sense, is not applicable to them, nor might they want to be viewed as such. Yet, it appears from their accounts that they may and, in some cases, did experience being vulnerable in specific situations in both home and host countries. Vulnerability could thus be considered situational for them. Examples of their understanding of integration as 'being safe and secure' highlight individual, specific encounters of vulnerability. However, further research would be necessary to attempt to map the *locales* and scopes of such vulnerabilities, eventually experienced both pre- and post-migration. Also, it would be important to move away from vulnerability defined solely through gender and/or lower skills, which similarly would require further research that remains beyond the scope of this research project.

Further, the class position of the participants also seems to have a great impact on the described perceptions of integration. As participants came from highly privileged financial and/or cultural and/or social backgrounds, class affiliation could have a robust impact on their understandings of integration. The potential impact of pre-migration class affiliation on understandings of integration will be studied from a closer angle in Chapter 6, and has been briefly discussed in section 3.4.4 above in the Methodology chapter.

To conclude, Chapter 4 considered more abstract, emotional responses as understandings of integration of highly educated migrant women participants living in the UK. Chapter 5 will investigate more specific integration conceptions aligned along power lines and 'agency' vectors of the two major players in the integration process, i.e. the migrant and the host country/society, in relation to the widely echoed idea of integration being a two-way process.

5 Chapter 5 - Understandings of Integration (2) - Agency of Main Actors of Integration

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will study the participants' understandings of integration from the angle of the expected, and actually deployed, agency of the two main actors in the integration process: the migrants and the host society. Firstly, those understandings of integration will be explored for which the migrants' own agency appears to be required. This will be followed by inspecting certain integration-related acts for which the host society seems to be responsible. Thirdly, expectations or at least desires of agency involving both sides will be looked at. In doing so, the concept of integration as a 'two-way process' will be investigated, though always from the highly educated migrant women participants' viewpoint.

5.2 Agency of Migrants

Integration is understood by the participants not only as a state of mind but equally, if not more significantly, as a process. This process comprises a variety of steps, recurrent in most participants' narratives. These range from specific action-linked frames of mind such as interacting or communicating (in which English language knowledge plays a primary role), understanding, learning, and the wish to contribute. Such cognitive approaches prepare the ground for mental, attitudinal, and behavioural changes, leading to various degrees of sociocultural adjustments that participants equate with integration.

5.2.1 Basic Practical Approaches as Understandings of Integration

This section will present four basic mental procedural frameworks that enable and/or demonstrate integration, as viewed by the participants. These are 'communication/interaction', 'understanding', 'learning', and 'wish to contribute'. These all lead to what Ager and Strang identified as elements of 'successful integration': 'processes of

social connection within and between groups within the community', while lack of those connections could lead to 'structural barriers related to language, culture and the local environment' (2008: 166). It would be challenging to arrange these steps in a specific linear order, due to their fluidity and often simultaneous and unconscious presence. Also, hermetic separation of these attributes would be particularly exacting. For methodological purposes, however, these steps will be studied separately. As it transpired from the interviews, when operating such mental structures participants strongly believed in the power of their agency.

Communicating, understanding, and learning are core milestones in the *cultural learning approach*, a theory situated at the intersection of sociocultural and psychological theories, and widely used in social psychology. According to this behavioural theory, individuals, including immigrants, who experience cultural shifts do not always possess the skills required to effectively navigate their new cultural environments (Masgoret & Ward 2006). Challenges manifest mainly in day-to-day relations with members of the new society. In these cases, acquiring certain behavioural skills linked to the new culture proves to be useful in order to manage such challenges (Bochner 1972). These can be acquired by interacting with others, observing, and eventually learning from those encounters. By doing so, individual immigrants not only get acquainted with communicational elements of the host society but also gain an understanding of prevailing dominant values, norms and beliefs, which are thought to be imperative for sociocultural integration (Masgoret & Ward 2006). Especially, as it is believed that 'manual skills are transferable across countries but communication / cultural skills [are] less so' (COMPAS_ 2016).

The mental approaches and world views that were displayed for such practice could be perceived as cosmopolitan (for more on cosmopolitanism, please see Section 2.5.6 above). The identified cosmopolitan stances manifested themselves in the interviewees' display and assumption of specific skills, practices, mental frames and value systems that were ingrained in an open and inquisitive approach to differences with the aim to manage such (socio-)cultural differences (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 1) in everyday life.

(i) Communication / Interaction

Communication and interaction with members of the host society figure frequently in the participants' accounts. Even though these acts presuppose the active participation of the 'other side of the coin', i.e. the agency of the host society members as well as the migrants, based on the narratives examined it would not be inappropriate to consider them as

predominantly migrant-initiated actions. Adoption of cultural practices and skills enhances communication and interaction with others (Wessendorf 2010), providing migrants with 'multiple cultural competence' (Vertovec 2009: 7).

Interactions that participants associated with integration were often meaningful, done in a 'proper' way (Shashi), exceeding the level of 'just for fun and entertainment' by interacting 'also in times of need or support of any kind' (Asha). For instance, for Soraya integration was

> to be able to connect to other people, other human beings but not as foreigners to each other but as people who speak somehow, in a way that can communicate meaning. That for me is that essence of feeling integrated…

Shashi also qualified communication. For her, it should be done 'properly' and in a 'more or less comfortable way'. The level of interacting in a comfortable way, of course, could vary from person to person. One of the participants explained that for her integration meant that interaction was not spoilt by formalities, but rather lived in a very relaxed atmosphere:

> For me to feel integrated amongst here is, to go to somebody's house and just feel…you are going to your friend's house you don't feel that you have to inform them quite a lot and say that please may I come and you can just ring the bell and just go. Here you have to always think that if the person is working, the person maybe is doing this and this at this time. It's cultural thing, so that's how it's difficult to integrate. (Ravleen)

Meaningful interactions did not necessarily exclude fleeting encounters with people whom one already knew by sight. Having day-to-day interactions in some cases was linked to perceptions of being integrated. Radha explained that interaction with people with whom she had exchanged barely one or two sentences each time they met could also lend a feeling of being integrated, of belonging. Despite the occasional momentariness of these contacts, they could extend over years.

> I am integrated with the people I know. Is that integration? Probably not [wondering] … I think it is perfectly enough for me to live here, yes. I have friends in the market who give me cheese when I don't have any money, free of course because they have known me for twenty years. … For me these things mean a lot. When I come back my vegetable man looks at me and says, where the hell were you for five months we haven't seen you. … My friends are people in the market, my friends are people, one my vegetable man, my cheese man, my milk

> man, they are my friends. … Would I miss them when I go? Yes of course I would miss them when I go, but wherever I go I might, hopefully, I will make new friends. (Radha)

Communication, however, did not happen without making an effort. It required active participation, a willingness primarily from the migrants' side. As Leela explained, 'positive social interaction' linked to integration did not happen on its own:

> I think yes, definitely, for any person, any migrant worker's survival in a new place, it is very important to be integrated. Even if it is like for a short duration of time that somebody is here, at the end of the day we are all human beings and human beings have to have some kind of a social interaction otherwise they won't be human beings you know what I mean. And in order to have that kind of positive social interaction, it is really important for one to feel that you are integrated, if you feel that okay I am not wanted, nobody wants to mix with me, it is true that even yourself you have to make an effort. It is not, you cannot just sit back and do nothing and then expect everybody to come and talk to you and everybody to find you a job or do all those things and just be in your shell and think that oh God the world is so mean, you know what I mean. That is not the right approach, but you do have to make an effort.

Furthermore, language was the main vehicle for interaction with others. A good knowledge of English could markedly enhance communication abilities, as Bhavi pointed out:

> The language I think, if you are going to come to a different country, the first thing that will help your life that sort of ease yourself into the culture, is the language. I was lucky because I spoke English. …Yeah, before, and it just became better and better. So I think the language is the first and foremost thing.

The knowledge of English in relation to integration emerged in most participants' accounts. Language knowledge was deemed by most interviewees a cardinal door-opener and communication facilitator,

> because then you can work out the minds of people how do they think, how do they relate, how do they argue… that is always an interesting… language is very important; you need to know the language (Vimala).

Without knowledge of the main language of the host society, life in any adopted country could be severely impaired. As most participants had exceptionally good English knowledge even prior to moving to the UK, difficulties associated with lack of language knowledge

have not necessarily been felt in a heightened way. This was underpinned by, for example, Asha's comment:

> Because we spoke English we didn't have a problem. … So if you can talk to other people irrespective of where they come from. For example, when we lived in the hospital complex, there were people from other parts of the world, and also from India but other parts of India, especially the South. Now, they would not speak Hindi. Some of them could a little but English was the main language, so there was no problem, you know, wherever they came from, we could speak in English.

Or, as Navdeep put it when comparing herself with those migrants who did not speak English even though they had lived in the UK for some time:

> if you know the language, it is so much easier because I think I am confident and I can speak the language, I can go and talk to anyone, and there is never issue. But for them [those immigrants who do not speak English] it's hard because they can't communicate easily.

Radha summed up the link between language knowledge and integration in a very direct way:

> I am strong believer in getting to know the language. So when I see many people in the UK especially the first and the second generation who never learnt English for example, so how the hell are you going to go out and think about integrating? You cannot.

Such findings were in line with claims in studies on language competence and communication skills that speaking the host country's primary language enabled more intensive interactions, led to heightened cultural learning and understanding, and eventually increased level of sociocultural familiarisation (Clement, Noels and Deneault 2001). Masgoret and Ward (2006) claimed that knowledge of the host society language formed the basis of the cultural learning approach, as language usage played out in everyday social encounters with members of the host society, and such encounters greatly enhanced sociocultural integration (see also Sam and Berry 2010). Similarly, in their study on integration of refugees in the UK, Ager and Strang (2008: 182) found that being able to speak the dominant language of the host society was pivotal to integrate. There are numerous policy documents or government commissioned reports positing that the lack of English knowledge could act as a serious obstacle to sociocultural and economic integration in the host society (e.g. Home Office 2006, or the more recent Casey Review 2016). However, in most cases such documents reflect hidden political objectives such as immigration control

and thus do not necessarily applaud English language knowledge *per se*. With their high level of English knowledge right from their arrival in the UK, the participants in this research were therefore in a fairly privileged position, unlike a significant number of migrants who generally struggle with communication, especially at the beginning of their stay in the host country. Good knowledge of English possibly markedly shaped the interviewees' integration experiences, and thus their understandings of integration. (Section 6.3.2 of this thesis will contain a more detailed description on the role of good English knowledge in shaping understandings of integration.)

(ii) Understanding

For many, understanding core standards, principles, and mechanisms of the host society was vital on the path of integration. Studies on integration have highlighted the importance of 'understanding' as an essential approach to integration (e.g. EAVES 2015), and more specifically cultural understanding of 'national and local procedures, customs and facilities' (Ager and Strang 2008: 182). Bhavi supported the findings of these empirical studies by remarking,

> the more you interact with people the more you tend to understand.

Also, understanding comes through reflection. Reflection, according to Hannerz was one of the basic mental dispositions of a cosmopolitan stance to the world, following 'listening, looking, [and] intuiting' (1990: 239). As emerged from the participants' accounts, what one needed to understand covered a whole array of thoughts, encompassing both more general and very concrete ideas. In a more general way, these descriptions referred to apprehending the 'world', or 'what's going on' in the host society, 'what it is that makes the society tick', or understanding 'cultural assumptions that make this society function' (Soraya), or the 'systems here' (Shashi). To manage cultural differences in a culturally highly heterogeneous shared urban space in the host society, the interviewees needed to approach difference with openness and a strong belief in tolerance (Kymlicka 2001), practices which are viewed as inherently cosmopolitan (Binnie and Holloway 2003). Recounting her initial years in the UK, Soraya described beautifully and in detail the process of not understanding despite a strong need to understand:

> I felt very much an outsider. But the reason I felt an outsider was not because there wasn't anybody keeping me out or anybody letting me in, it had nothing to do with anybody else; it really had something to do with me cognitively feeling that this world was not a world I

> understood. … So for me part of the learning experience was just to understand fully what the cultural assumptions were that made this society function and that I suppose happened quite systematically once I had spent some time here. And that basically also meant I had relationships with people that allowed me insights in a kind of safe environment in which there was no motive and I just learned. I suppose what I'm saying to you is that it was a bit of anthropological adventure to try and understand what it is that makes the society tick. When I did I just felt more at home and I remember once having just been to India and having returned I had this kind of moment of real understanding on what my situation was about. … I mean I don't know how to describe it, it is not actually the right term but it is feeling in my head like I understand what's going on, just simple stuff, really basic stuff. (Soraya)

It is interesting to note that she expressly stated, the feeling of being an outsider was not linked to exclusionist group dynamics initiated from the host society. She did not attempt to hold the 'others' or her new society accountable for the fact that she did not fit in immediately after her arrival in the UK. On the contrary, she recognised that understanding was a complex and time-consuming intellectual adventure that required willingness on the side of the incomer to comprehend new frameworks. These excerpts testified to the need to display a cosmopolitan attitude, coupled with pragmatic sills, to understand and manoeuvre a world that has been recognised as somewhat culturally different from the home society (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 1). As described in Section 5.3.2 of this thesis, participants indeed critiqued the lack of cosmopolitan openness of those living in Britain, especially of their neighbours who failed to reciprocate their genuine and friendly approach when they refrained from inviting them back to their homes. It is not clear who participants referred to in such statements, to the native White English, or to a wider population, including Brits of ethnic minority backgrounds, and immigrants. Shashi also took a generalist stance when describing her perception of integration. She stressed that feeling comfortable in the UK was partly due to understanding the 'systems here' and how things were organised.

> I feel quite comfortable here, and I can communicate properly, fine, and understand most of the systems here or how to get about finding things.

Besides linking understanding with the abstract, high-level category of society, participants recounted more specific, rather grass-roots examples. In particular, they mentioned the necessity to understand 'what sort of backgrounds and beliefs people have' (Bhavi), 'what people mean when they say things', 'what their feelings are', and also the peculiar English humour (Soraya). Soraya elaborated on what she expected to gain from interaction with people as follows:

> But understanding what people mean when they say things, what their feelings are, to be able to connect to other people, other human beings but not as foreigners to each other but as people who speak somehow, in a way that can communicate meaning. That for me is that essence of feeling integrated…

For Bhavi, who worked as a GP, comprehending her patients' 'backgrounds and beliefs' was not only beneficial for integration but cardinal to pursuing her profession.

> I think integration to me means learning the way of life, of the culture that I have learned there, because I think it makes life easy for me especially because of my job because I'm dealing with people day in and day out, every day. And if I don't understand what sort of backgrounds and beliefs they have, I can never function as a GP.

These narratives recount the practice of cultural cosmopolitanism by unwrapping mind-frames, skills, and strategies exhibited by 'ordinary' people to overcome differences (Lamont and Aksartova 2002). Soraya unwrapped the mentioned, still very abstract, practices and gave some more specific examples of the ordinary cosmopolitanism that she displayed. She argued, one should have a cultural

> understanding [about] why English people like breakfast cereals, they do or why they shop in the way in which they do, why they have such hang-ups about class and supermarkets and how Indians think differently and whatever. That kind of very basic everyday interaction. So even in interaction where I can sense that somebody is patronising or viewing me in a kind of problematic way, the important thing for me there is the ability to be able to understand where they are coming from. (Soraya)

Such understanding, as Vimala described, normally came from 'mind issues', such as tolerance, respect and acceptance of differences (which are in agreement with Kymlicka's (2001) prerequisites for the performance of cosmopolitanism), that migrants (were expected to) demonstrate.

> … integration has more to do with … it's tolerance and respect. So if you are able to tolerate … tolerate is probably not the word, accept different world views, different ways of living, different ways of comportment, different ways of carrying oneself and if you are respectful for… that your way is not the only way, and you are open to negotiation you know, this is the way I have been brought up, but this is the way she has been brought up or he has been brought up and they are different. If you are able to also acknowledge that there is bound to be a space in which we will never agree because certain intrinsic difference, but not agree is not conflictual, it's acceptance of … so what happens… It is a mind thing and it is not a melting pot. So you don't melt

> everything and become something else, you don't. It is much more that word that they use like a salad bowl. So in a salad bowl you have all the elements, which are different but when you taste it still tastes good. So there is a blend and the blend is the dressing should be the mind, the acceptance, the respect, also once again the tolerance element, the liberal element, the liberality, the ability to accept that the mind is not a closed door. (Vimala)

The dressing that she referred to could be viewed as the very embodiment of the cosmopolitan mind-frame with its openness to and respect for differences, willingness to handle such differences, and the recognition that the socio-cultural tissue of the society she lives in is in a constant rearrangement (Gane 2004), for which such a stance was highly useful, if not essential.

A more pragmatic voice reminded us that a person did not only need to understand how others were thinking. Instead, it was more important to be aware what migrants were expected to do in terms of responsibilities and duties; also, what they were permitted in terms of rights.

> I understand what my rights and responsibilities and duties are. That way I'm quite comfortable. (Shashi)

(iii) Learning

Learning was seen as an outcome of communication with others in the host country. Soraya explained,

> I had relationships with people that allowed me insights in a kind of safe environment … and I just learned.

Nonetheless, learning was equally linked to understanding what were the requirements for achieving more specific targets, such as professional survival or advancement. Bhavi elaborated, for her, integration meant learning in order to work as a GP. A more specific example was Madhuri's recollection of her conversion exam (or part of it) that allowed her to work as a dentist in the UK. She described that learning specific 'set' systems, such as how the IELTS exams functioned, enabled her to integrate professionally.

> Integration is, you have a system that the things are done and when you go as a new person and it is easy for you to acquire that system and be a part of it. On the other side, that system is welcoming and easy to accept or they have ways where you can learn to accept and that is

> what England offered me. It wasn't easy, the exams were not easy or even the lifestyle wasn't easy but there were ways I could learn. Like by going to…even like simply giving IELTs exams. I could learn the way the system works, like I knew what they were expecting from me and why they were expecting those things, those skills in me because they wanted me to have good English communication which is understandable because that is what the language is used in England. So that in ways like that I felt things were very clear, very fair, and that is what integration means to me like. When I am an outsider, I go to a country at least they have a way where I can get into the system in a better way rather than just assuming myself okay this is what I need to do. There was already a set system which I could just follow and learn things and be a part of the system. (Madhuri)

Also, the willingness to observe and learn in their new culture allowed participants to overcome 'culture shock' (Oberg 1960) in their new societal setup. Although as its name might suggest, culture shock was originally viewed as an outcome of stressful experiences attributed to previously unforeseen dynamics of new cultural environments, there is evidence in the literature that migrants as active agents make use of their sometimes unpleasant experiences to improve their adaptation process (see Adler, 1987; Ehrensaft and Tousignant, 2006; Korem and Horenczyk 2015), which was in line with Madhuri's perspective on the process of learning.

Yet, although the process of learning is in general shaped by various operating frameworks linked to specific geographical spaces, it is inherent to navigating life in any community. One 'learns to cross those barriers' when entering new social spaces. Leela described this process:

> Because even in my own country there could be people of different …, so for example India there are so many different cultures even within India, there are so many different regions and every region has their own culture. So if I went from Delhi to Bombay or from Bombay to I don't know Chennai, people over there would be like, oh she is from the North, oh this is the south and she has a different way of doing things. And so even there, there will be this problem of integration. … It is just exactly what I am telling that even within your own country there are so many things like these, so many problems like these, which you face. You learn to cross those barriers. And it is not different here, there would be people who would not accept you for who you are and there will be those who will. So you are not really bothered for those who don't because they have their own way of thinking and you are just going to ignore that.

(iv) Wish to Contribute

Finally, this section investigates a very specific understanding of integration, which might not directly fit in the triad of interaction–understanding–learning, which is the wish to contribute to society. Once migrants began seeing themselves as belonging to a place, it was not rare that they attempted to claim ownership of the place in an active way, as also found by some research (e.g. Sigona and Torre 2005). This is how Soraya felt:

> So when you start belonging to a place, you start also taking responsibility for it…

However, to be responsible, it was essential to understand 'what my rights and responsibilities and duties are' (Shashi). Thus, from feeling responsible emanated the wish to give, to contribute, as Soraya continued,

> you start seeing yourself as not passive but potentially okay in whatever limited way but needing to contribute, obligation exist. When you start and this has always been my feelings so the more connected I feel with a place or an institution, the more I feel that there's something to be done here by me... (Soraya)

Similarly, as Poornima pointed out, as a migrant one did not only 'take' but also 'give': 'it's always good to give and take, have something from this country, give something to this country'. Lakshmi also associated integration with her personal contribution,

> I feel I am contributing, I have contributed to the society…

Contributing, by definition, is an active behaviour, requiring the agency of migrants. However, the extent to which one could or should contribute varies, as evidenced by the participants' accounts. A core element could be its meaningfulness for the contributing person.

> Yeah, it's [integration is] wanting to be a part of and being a part of means engaging with and contributing meaningfully. (Soraya)

The actual contribution might turn out to be not as significant as previously hoped for by the participant, however this did not diminish the cognitive attitude to the act, as Soraya concluded,

> whatever my contribution might be, it might be totally irrelevant or insignificant at the end of the day but the effort must be there; because that's what belonging is about. (Soraya)

Contributing did not only strengthen links of belonging with the specific host country setting but also was viewed as a source of immense personal satisfaction and pride. Lakshmi voiced such feeling:

> … I feel I am contributing, I have contributed to the society and I have been a law-abiding citizen and I take pride in all that. I really take pride in that.

This section of the chapter explored those basic active mental approaches to integration that, according to the participants themselves, were expected or highly recommended to be followed in order to integrate. These showed strong cosmopolitan features (Section 2.5 contains a brief review of the relevant literature on cosmopolitanism). The next Section 5.2.2 will look at how the understandings of integration listed in this section were articulated in practice. First, certain concepts with which participants usually conveyed their apprehension of integration will be studied. These are 'accepting', 'adjusting', 'adapting', 'adopting', and 'getting used to', and arguably pertain to behavioural changes. Following that, certain examples illustrating the aforementioned behavioural changes will be enumerated. After, the extent of such behavioural changes will be scrutinised. Finally, 'everyday life' as the oft-cited space of understandings of integration will be explored.

5.2.2 Changes as Understandings of Integration

(i) 'Accept, Adjust, Adapt, Adopt, Get Used to' – Acculturation

The participants used a wide variety of expressions to describe integration, such as 'accepting', 'adjusting', 'adapting', 'adopting', or 'getting used to'. In the understanding of the individual participants, the actual expressions employed in their narratives were synonymous with and thus embodied the conception of integration. However, integration was experienced and lived in highly individualised, personal ways by each of the migrants depending on their circumstances, backgrounds, personal histories and personalities (EAVES 2015). Therefore, these words could depict distinct personal expectations as to the level of social and cultural immersion linked to integration. Also, they could refer to non-identical outcomes in degrees or steps of integration (both horizontal and vertical). Thus, despite gathering such expressions denoting integration within this same section, they cannot be considered fully identical; they are not true synonyms of one another.

The following examples showed ways participants used expressions such as ‘accepting’, ‘adjusting’, ‘adapting’, ‘adopting’, or ‘getting used to’ to evoke integration.

> … it is being accepting that you are where you are, who you are, and how you are going to feel comfortable. (Fareeda)

> … it is easy for you to acquire that system and be a part of it. On the other side, that system is welcoming and easy to accept or they have ways where you can learn to accept. (Madhuri)

> To me it is just being comfortable and be happy about and accepting… I have accepted actually the culture here, you need to say hello, thank you, sorry [called mannerisms by her]… (Fareeda)

> … integration has more to do with … it’s tolerance and respect. So if you are able to tolerate … tolerate is probably not the word, accept different world views, different ways of living, different ways of comportment, different ways of carrying oneself and if you are respectful for…(Vimala)

> And gradually you learn to accept the way things are... (Bhavi)

> If you don’t want to be confused, you must accept the culture where you live. … Integrated means this, that you adopt that culture. (Nasira)

> I think integration if you consider it as the ability to adjust to a different society and people... (Shashi)

> … integration for me is more adapting to the environment… (Sushila)

Interestingly, among the listed expressions, the word ‘accept’ was used the most frequently. However, in the literature on intercultural encounters, the notion of adaptation was most commonly employed as the cardinal framework of reference (Kim 2001; Ward 1996). Although adaptation and integration are two distinct concepts, they remain closely related. According to Berry (2005: 709), adaptation is a term depicting fairly stable changes in an individual or a group that occur due to external demands, which, as observable from the participants’ narratives, often happen in the course of integration. Two principal domains of adaptation are typically considered in the literature on integration: psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Ward 1996, 2001).

> Psychological adaptation largely involves one’s psychological and physical well-being,

> whereas sociocultural adaptation refers to how well an acculturating individual is able to manage daily life in the new cultural context (Berry 2005: 709).

In this Section 5.2.2 (i), sociocultural adaptation will be investigated, also seen as 'the ability to fit in or negotiate interactive aspects of the host culture' (Ward and Kennedy 1992: 178). Nonetheless, as Berry (2005) pointed out, adaptation as an effect may not necessarily entail a holistic, positive convergence towards host society culture; it could also reflect rejection of certain cultural features. Thus, change can have diverging vectors.

Many interviewees used the catchphrase (or its variations) 'when in Rome do as the Romans do' to explain what integration meant for them. For instance,

> Integration means being able to get together with people and be able to live in this country and jell with the society like, be a Roman amongst the Romans. … (Jyoti)

> I mean integration… it is the way like if you were while in Rome you do as Romans do. (Poornima)

How to do this in practice nevertheless remained obscure. Perhaps the women interviewed tried to express the need to become somewhat similar to what they call the 'Romans'. But who were depicted as 'Romans' in their accounts? Did they refer to the majority, the 'native', White English population? Could we consider White English as the majority, especially in pockets of superdiverse London where most participants lived? Also, looking at another aspect of the phrase, in what way should a migrant act when 'do[ing] as Romans do'? Did that entail copying visible behavioural attitudes? Or did it expand to incorporating more ingrained, less conspicuous behavioural or cognitive elements over time? These were only a handful of questions coming to mind, implying the problematic nature of such statements. Despite the blurred meaning of the phrase, it seemed to be self-evident for the participants.

Poornima, however, added to the already cited phrase; she believed integration was not only about being 'at the receiving end' and accepting. She emphasised that it was equally important to showcase some aspects of the migrants' culture that they deemed worthy of sharing with the host society, thus acknowledging a reverse direction of possible culture sharing.

> So if you want to show your culture, if you really think there is something good in your culture and you want to tell them, so let them come, let them know about that and it's

> nothing like you can just tell theoretically, let them see that. And you accept their culture also. So integration means if some migrants are coming, it's always good to give and take, have something from this country, give something to this country. (Poornima)

This positive aspect of migration has been widely discussed in both policy and theoretical literature, especially as a positive increment of multiculturalism. Also, for instance, when deliberating about cultural integration, Spencer and Cooper (2006) acknowledged that integration involved transformation of both migrants and the host society. However, as they pointed out, the literature tended to accentuate changes happening on the migrants' side. Surprisingly, this facet of integration had not been mentioned by other participants. This could possibly imply that participants perceived integration primarily as involving the task of 'fitting-in', that would ultimately fall on them, and not so much as a process which would exhibit aspects of their cultural heritage.

Based on findings described in this section, partipants largely identified integration with the concept of acculturation. It has been widely acknowledged in the literature that acculturation forms a specific, non-conclusive aspect of integration, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Literature Review), although others, such as Phillimore, argued for the other way round, viewing integration as an eventual element of the process of acculturation. Nevertheless, for the interviewees in this research, acculturation seemed to fill the blurry concept of integration with substance, in particular, as the individual steps of acculturation entailed a greater possibility (and often requirement) for migrants to exercise agency. At a later point, this chapter will reflect on why acculturation could to a certain extent dominate participants' understandings of integration. The next Section 5.2.2 (ii) will explore precisely what interviewees did when they 'accepted, adjusted, adapted, adopted, or got used to'.

(ii) Examples of Changes

Ward (2001) used the term 'ABC of acculturation' to describe three main domains of a person's life that change through acculturation, referring to the affective, behavioural and cognitive areas. Indeed, changes in conduct and mental predispositions identified with integration manifested at different levels in the recollections of the interviewees. Changes could have visible, easily discernible representations, such as acts conducted predominantly in arenas that were principally associated with public life. These included some 'simple behavioural shifts' (Sam and Berry 2010: 473), such as transformed eating habits, dressing 'Western', talking English more extensively, mainly with their children, or pursuing new leisure time activities such as going skiing or pubbing.

> I speak English, I dress Western, I eat roast chicken or fish and chips. … Food is very mixed, we don't eat Indian every day, you know, we have Italian and Chinese. (Sitara)

> So if you talk about cultural values like going to the pub, going out to eat, or it is summer- lets have strawberries, that's a very British thing to do, apparently. So I think in those terms then, I am integrated. (Nafia)

Also, changes could be detected at subtler, attitudinal levels reaching less palpable arenas such as basic tastes and likings. Thus, migrants' embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) could also possibly be amended, at least over time. Sitara expressed that she felt 'very English' in her 'attitude':

> In every way I am very English in my attitude too - I like quiet, I don't like crowd.

The following quotation could serve as an excellent example of change in embodied cultural capital that Jyoti noticed in Indians resident in Britain for a long time. Interestingly, instead of frowning upon such changes as 'non-Indian', she recognised that significantly altered behaviour could be viewed as natural.

> Again there are so many Indians here, who have been living here since long, long time, they are very integrated - like, they behave like Britishers. … So they are being natural - for as long as you are natural it doesn't matter you are Indian or British.

Others looked at their own behavioural and attitudinal changes linked to integration in more pragmatic ways. In doing so, they did not focus on specific behavioural changes, but instead emphasised the very act of living everyday life in the most normal way.

> … you live where you live and you try to do what you try to do. (Radha)

> So we are within the Diaspora for a long time, so integration in terms of integration it is not hard. You just sit at home and you do your daily things and you get used to it. (Vimala)

This practicality was acknowledged in the literature. Although there is a wide array of realisable options for cognitive and behavioural changes upon navigating new cultures, some were chosen over others 'simply in order to get on with one's life' (Evanoff 2006: 422). Such pragmatic changes could also be perceived as intercultural skills, useful to mobilise in the spaces of 'commonplace diversity' (Vertovec 2009) or 'corner-shop cosmopolitanism'

(Wessendorf 2010) of superdiverse environments. However, to what extent did the interviewees feel compelled (or not) to change their behaviour in order to integrate? What behavioural elements did they accept, adopt, etc. to feel integrated? Did they believe they had discretion over what and what not to accept? The next part of this section will explore individual attitudes to such changes.

(iii) Attitudes to Changes

To what extent does a migrant feel the need to change his/her behaviour in order to 'fit in' is a particularly complex and problematic issue. Attitudes towards acculturation have often been viewed as configurations determined by the degree to which a person was ready to retain elements of his/her original culture and adopt new ones (Berry 1997). Various factors could impact attitudes towards acculturation, including age at migration (e.g. Hanassab 1991; Tsai et al. 2000), or amount of time spent in the host country (e.g. Manning and Roy 2010). This part of the thesis attempts to sketch an attitudinal portrait of changes in the participants' conduct as narrated by them. Their recollections reveal that even though instances of acculturation showed individual features in terms of manner and extent, they nevertheless could not be detached from their respective contexts (as Birman and Trickett (2001) also remind us).

Many interviewees expressly stated that they were willing to change their behaviour only to an extent still acceptable for them, in a 'pick and mix' way. This could be summarised by Jyoti's account, when she explained that she 'choose[s] what I [she] really like[s]' and 'disregard[s] the things that I [she] do[es]n't want to participate in' (Jyoti). Or, as Sushila put it:

> … integration for me is more adapting to the environment at the same time having some priorities in your mind, accepting what comes through your door but having some priorities, what you would like to do.

Others also pointed out this element of discretion, this belief that there was neither a necessity, nor pressure on them to accept more than they were willing to.

> Like here I'm not saying I'm doing exactly what they want or what they're doing but if I'm doing what I wanted and they're accepting it, I think that's the parameter of integration for me. (Poornima)

> So I think on the one hand, integration does come with food as well, but on the other hand you don't have to be eating the same food to be fully integrated as well. (Nafia)

The content of expressions such as 'what I like' or 'what I would like to do', however, remained unclear. Nasira's down-to-earth approach also included the idea of 'mixing cultures', as 'this is the best':

> I am fully integrated, I like the culture. Mostly the Muslim people will say no, no, our culture is our culture, but I think a mixture of your own culture and this culture is the best.

Her example illustrated Berry's (1980) already described integration strategy, i.e. through which immigrants attempted to maintain their own cultural links to their home culture, while at the same time incorporating cultural elements from the host society's culture, an approach linked to a higher level of sociocultural adaptation (Liebkind 2001; Sam et al. 2008). The phenomenon of mixing cultures was also recognised in post-colonial cultural studies under the notion of 'hybridity' (Werbner and Modood 1997). Bhabha (1994) believed migrants could create a 'third space', where dominant elements of host society and home society cultures would be 'hybridised', that would ultimately reconstruct both. Interestingly, this frequently unconscious process invoked the process of dual evaluation by not only critiquing 'one's own original cultural values and norms … [but it is] also a critique of the adopted culture's values and norms' (Evanoff 2006: 426). For instance, Nasira dismissed the perceived generally negative attitude displayed 'back home', where people viewed the West as exemplifying moral decline.

> Back home they think, when they want to say something bad to somebody they say, oh she has westernised, this is a bad word westernise. And when you come to western you see how balanced they are, they have got their values, they have got their backgrounds, they have got their education, everything, what's wrong to be westernised? (Nasira)

Although it is not straightforward, it still would be important to endeavour to map the scope of choices, i.e. what values and attitudes participants would pick, and what would they refrain from embracing. As some interviewees said, preferences could be traced back to the 'value system' of each individual. Lakshmi stated, 'I think I feel part of the society because I value the values or the ideals of British society'. Besides being as vague as the 'what I like' declaration, this statement is also not without its controversies. What could have she meant by the values and ideals of British society? Could those be equated with the widely debated and critiqued 'fundamental *British* values', proclaimed by the previous coalition Government in their 'Prevent' Strategy (Department for Education 2012: 5) as 'democracy,

the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs'? Should not these values rather be viewed as universal 'ideals to which anyone could aspire' (Winder 2007: 32) instead of assumed to be intrinsically British? Full acceptance of 'British' values reminds us of the assimilationist incorporation ideas (Vasta 2009) of the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless, a recent high-level paper on suggestions for the content of desired UK integration policy(ies) (APPG 2017: 7) described integration as 'the extent to which people conform to *shared* norms and values and lead *shared* lives', the stress being on *shared*, thus accepted by a large part of the population, and hence omitting the strongly critiqued fluid concept of 'British values'. The invoked approach to integration embraced a more accepting attitude to migrants, avoiding use of the particularly divisive 'us' / 'them' dichotomy. Yet, the paper until now remains merely a suggestion advanced by certain Members of both Houses Parliament. When unwrapping the content of the listed values, Manjula explained, she believed in the 'Enlightenment values' of secularism, liberalism, tolerance, and respect for differences:

> … those people who define Britain and British values as democratic, secular, you know all of those Enlightenment values…

There is a wide variety of factors impacting on attitudes, behaviours, customs and norms, that are seen as culturally appropriate in a society, such as gender, ethnicity, religion, class, and age (Spencer and Cooper 2006). It is acknowledged that over a longer timespan (possibly over generations), societies normally become attuned to the diverse cultural heritage of immigrants (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2004). Despite this fact, there is a lingering assumption in the public mind that host societies are 'based on monocultural norms which differ from those of migrant communities' (Spencer and Cooper 2006: 59). Meanwhile, a growing number of studies challenge the premise that the main cultural norms of most migrants diverge strikingly from the dominant norms of the host society (cf. Hagendoorn et al. 2003). This challenge is in accordance with the participants' perception of host society values, which were often identical to theirs despite certain cultural differences. Thus, there seems to be a universal set of moral norms and beliefs (often talked about in the literature on moral cosmopolitanism, e.g. by Delanty (2006)), unrelated to the act of migration. Accordingly, more than once participants said there was no need to alter their basic value system following migration, as this was to a great degree similar to values and norms, already embraced while living in India. Nevertheless, it was fascinating to hear Manjula's observation about the fact that migrants were often defined 'in terms of their religious affiliation' and were seen accordingly as 'backward'.

> But in Britain, minorities are hugely defined in terms of their religious affiliation and if they are secular, it is seen as having adopted British values. So in a sense I am part… so those people who define Britain and British values as democratic, secular, you know all of those enlightenment values, and then reject immigration because immigrants always represent the other sort of values, non-enlightenment values, sort of excessive religiosity, possibly homophobia, the oppression of women … [I]integration suggests that you have given up all those backward values and have British values. But because I feel that I have come from similar… what I want is recognition that actually there is a more layered understanding of the background of immigrants and that… I… my value system aligns me with those values of people in Britain…

This idea has often emerged in discursive political and media contexts as the antithesis to the 'secular and thus civilised lifestyles of the "majority"' (e.g. Vertigans 2010; Runnymede Trust 1997; Meer and Modood 2009; Karlsen and Nazroo 2016). In particular, such an approach problematises Muslims, which could also be seen as a process of 'politicisation of Muslim disloyalty' (McGhee 2008: 30). Discourses on the probable incompatibility of Muslim immigrants' beliefs with 'British values' (see also Parekh 2006), or the 'unacceptability' of the religious other in the increasingly cosmopolitan neoliberal city (Young et al. 2006: 1689), still linger. This is so despite empirical evidence suggesting that individuals from ethnic minorities in Britain, including Muslims, predominantly adhere to universalistic moral and civic values such as tolerance, fairness, liberalism, support for equality, democratic and legal processes, in higher numbers than members of the White ethnic majority of Britain (Heath et al. 2010; Karlsen and Nazroo 2016: 763-769). Nevertheless, class backgrounds should be taken into account in respect of Muslim migrant women as well. For instance, Evans and Bowlby (2000) argued that there was more in common between middle-class, professional Pakistani Muslim women in Reading and other middle-class British women, at least regarding labour market incorporation and related values, than with their co-ethnic Muslim migrant women, despite difficulties caused by institutional and personal racism (p. 467). It is important to note that the Muslim participants in this research did not express any perceived antagonism between their 'original' values and the listed 'British values'.

The terms 'majority' or 'mainstream' also emerged in the participants' narratives. Manjula's observations seemed to be in agreement with some participants' articulation of values linked to 'majority society' (Lakshmi) or to 'mainstream British culture' (Nafia). The ideas of 'majority' and 'mainstream' are inherently polemic and will not be discussed here. However, it is essential to observe that in all cultures, a range of competing norms, values and beliefs

coexist at the level of society. Not all of these are accepted or even 'expected to be accepted' by all members of a given society. Even at the level of the individual, values and norms are relative, and value cohesion is limited. Instead of having a monolithic value structure, plurality of both values and ways of thinking about values has been demonstrated (Kekes 1993: 11). This means in practice, every individual deploys values from his/her range of accepted values that are thought to be most appropriate for specific situations, even if the use of such values would sometimes be incongruous. Evanoff argued that discourses should not revolve around the need to subscribe to or reject a fixed set of common, core values but it would be more appropriate to talk about 'values widely shared by the people of a given society' (2006: 428), which was also voiced by the recent APPG Report on Social Integration. Hence, it appears, the bottom line for behavioural changes in the frame of integration could be drawn along the extent to which an individual is no longer prepared to let go of specific values, traditions, beliefs and norms that the person feels strongly attached to. This idea was echoed in Manjula's recollections, as well:

> Assuming that what you mean [under integration] is do I feel welcomed or do I feel that I am part of this culture?… it [integration] would mean the extent to which I am prepared to let go of my own cultural traditions in order to fit in with Britain, this is what it would mean to me.

Or, as another participant put it:

> … [integration] is [to be] proud to keep your roots as what you were there; you are not forced to give up what your religion was, you are not forced to integrate just because you are in a British society. (Sushila)

Values, norms and beliefs were thus closely entwined with one's identity, especially when managing multiple identities or preserving original identities to various degrees. For Fareeda, as already described in Chapter 4, integration was defined through her identity, where she seemed to refer to a pre-migration identity determined by core elements defining her personality. Her identity, therefore, provided a framework and allowed for a degree to which she was able to accept her identity in the frame of integration.

> I guess I would say it means being comfortable wherever you are and not feeling intimidated because of your identity. That's integration. If you are comfortable, if you are at peace with your identity vis-à-vis a country you are living in, that is integration. … Similarly, I don't have to really dress up like an English woman. These are all outer signs. To me it is just being comfortable and be happy about and accepting… I have accepted actually the culture

> here, … you know the mannerism … So yes, it is being comfortable, it is [being] accepting that you are where you are, who you are, and how you are going to feel comfortable.

A similar idea could be recognised in Sushila's words:

> Integration for me is actually being at peace. That you feel, you don't feel uncomfortable about any place or moment or time of what you are, what your roots are and where you are. (Sushila)

As already mentioned in Chapter 4, it is commonly acknowledged in the literature that identity (including the 'original' identity) is not fixed. Instead, it is mouldable, as it is contextually deconstructed and reconstructed through exposure to various micro-, meso- and macro-factors. While Fareeda possibly referred to her identity as being linked to her home country existence, it is not clear whether she perceived identity as a resilient, constantly evolving phenomenon. Soraya, however, acknowledged the dynamics of her discrete, at the same time harmoniously coexisting, identities. As her example showed, certain life situations, such as going back to India for a trip or coming back to the UK after such a trip, could bring to the fore sets of cognitive and emotional dispositions that normally remained in the background in other circumstances. She noticed that the surfacing of one mental schema and the submerging of another is a natural, contextually induced and shaped process. Her distinct identities and linked behaviour were not competing, rather lived simultaneously, whilst being contingent on concrete situations. As she noticed, she 'embodies both [Indian and British] worlds in perfectly happy ways', but in order to feel comfortable in these 'worlds' divided by nation-state borders, she had to 'face those worlds differently'.

> So the first time in India and then the second time when I was back in Britain whatever, four or five weeks later and I felt the same [turning sound] now I'm in position. And it was just incredibly natural. But a very revealing sense that one needed to adjust one's head and the behaviour could follow. It wasn't like it was a face in a mask kind of situation where I was somehow disguising my real self in one scenario and revealing my real self in another. It was simply that I really embodied both worlds in perfectly happy ways but I did have to, if you like face those worlds differently when I was in them in order to feel comfortable.

Thus, it is argued that acculturative changes in one's behaviour could also be viewed as identity configurations.

5.2.3 Understandings of Integration and Everyday Life

Berry posited that acculturation strategies (1980), consisting mainly of 'attitudes (an individual's preference about how to acculturate), and behaviours (a person's actual activities) were exhibited in day-to-day intercultural encounters' (2005: 704) in the host society. This is in line with the way some participants depicted integration as a phenomenon and process equalled with and played out in everyday life. 'Involvement with everyday life' of the host country (Poornima), or having basic everyday interactions, for instance in 'going into the shops and understanding why English people like breakfast cereals' (Soraya), were core activities and understandings of integration. From Vimala's description, integration seemed to be a particularly natural daily process, done in a most straightforward and barely noticeable way:

> So we are within the Diaspora for a long time, so integration in terms of integration it is not hard. You just sit at home and you do your daily things and you get used to it. … setting up home and that daily routine of life is very easy to… and if you have been used to living abroad, getting into that routine is not difficult at all. … you go to the supermarket, it is not difficult to find… medical facilities are fine. You go to a surgery, you get enrolled and there is this system more or less. But most of the things that you require on a daily basis, that is not so difficult to figure out.

This was in agreement with Radha's commonsense summary of the concept, where integration is when

> you live where you live and you try to do what you try to do.

The idea that integration takes place in everyday life through everyday social encounters has been increasingly embraced by scholars, especially in the last decade. Amin posited that integration occurred at sites that he termed 'prosaic' (2002: 969), where natives and non-natives had the opportunity to meet. These sites, however, in his estimation, should have a certain compulsory element where people were expected to develop social contacts, such as in workplaces or educational establishments, to create an environment of meaningful cross-cultural exchange. Others underlined the need for 'conviviality, cohabitation and multi-ethnic interaction in ordinary life' (Gilroy 2004) of the different groups of people in a society, and highlighted the integrative power of 'daily habits of perhaps quite banal intercultural interaction' (Sandercock 2006: 42), instead of stressing the compulsory elements of encounters as in Amin's proposed approach. Along these lines, opposed to the

belief that only deep and meaningful interactions with natives could lead to integration, Vertovec believed in 'civil integration', which concept stood for social interactions and thus manageable social relations that were likely to 'emerge from the everyday praxis of living together', as these micro-spheres of 'acquisition and routinisation of everyday practices' were the core settings 'for getting on with others in the inherently fleeting encounters that comprise city life' (2007: 4, 26).

Section 5.2 has investigated understandings of integration where migrants' action and active agency are required. The following Section 5.3 will move on from migrants to the host society, and will explore what participants perceive to be the main requirements or expectations of the host society in the integration process.

5.3 Agency of Host Society

The interviewees recounted some factors that influenced their understandings of integration, and which could be associated with the host society. In most cases, these considerations did not reach the level of being formulated as expectations of the host society on the part of the migrants, but rather as beneficial phenomena, provided they existed. The said factors were expressed in a distinct way based on whether migrants perceived the host society as a political unit and a system, or the aggregate of people comprising it. Also, these two distinct apprehensions of the host society were of highly dissimilar dynamics, operating at different levels of abstraction. One the one hand, the host society seen as a political unit was a highly abstract conceptualisation lacking corporeality, and linked to values associated with a democratic societal setup. On the other hand, the host society outlined as people living in the UK was considerably easier to concretise. Even though it was equally a mental conjecture, it construed the host society by associating it with flesh and blood people that migrants could meet in their everyday life. Nevertheless, these two categories had at least one thing in common: despite their different levels of theoretical construction, they had a strong potential to impact on the participants' everyday lives, and could inform their understandings of integration. This section will recount considerations pertaining to, or attributable to the host society, identified in the participants' accounts, as their perceptions of integration.

5.3.1 Host Society as Political Unit

(i) Clear, Fair and Set System

An aspect of the host society, which left its mark on the way Madhuri comprehended her integration in the UK, was the existence of a system that was 'easy … to acquire … and be part of it', or at least it had 'ways where you can learn to accept it'. The clearness and fairness of such a system were also mentioned as major characteristics. As she explained,

> Integration is, you have a system that the things are done and when you go as a new person and it is easy for you to acquire that system and be a part of it. On the other side, that system is welcoming and easy to accept or they have ways where you can learn to accept and that is what England offered me. It wasn't easy, the exams were not easy or even the lifestyle wasn't easy but there were ways I could learn. Like by going to…even like simply giving IELTs exams. I could learn the way the system works, like I knew what they were expecting from me and why they were expecting those things, those skills in me because they wanted me to have good English communication which is understandable because that is what the language is used in England. So that in ways like that I felt things were very clear, very fair, and that is what integration means to me like. When I am an outsider, I go to a country at least they have a way where I can get into the system in a better way rather than just assuming myself okay this is what I need to do. There was already a set system which I could just follow and learn things and be a part of the system.

Also, in a previous section of this chapter when 'understanding' as a cardinal mental process of integration was discussed, other participants also referred to the system as a conception that needed to be apprehended in order to integrate (e.g. Shashi commented, 'I … understand most of the systems here or how to get about finding things'). For that, a largely open and decipherable system was required to be in place.

Although not specifically stated by the participants as a synonym for integration, fairness could suggest lack of discrimination. The idea that the host society should not show prejudice towards incomers and discriminate against them has already appeared in early social theories linked to incorporation. For example, Gordon's (1964: 71) seven-step assimilation model specifically claimed that total incorporation in the host society could only happen if both an 'attitudinal' (which could be equated with lack of prejudice) and a 'behavioural receptional' (meaning lack of discrimination) framework provided by the host society assisted such a process. Or, in a later seminal theory of Alba and Nee's (2003: 53-55), it was argued that although incorporation in a host society depended both on proximate (operating at the level of individual or group) and distal (structural) factors, they stressed the pivotal role of the state in enhancing assimilation, in particular, by establishing a non-

discriminatory level playing field. Non-discrimination thus was expected to manifest in distinct structures of the host society, such as for instance on the labour market. This idea appeared to be in concert with empirical studies arguing that discrimination by the host society could lead to a low level of psychological and sociocultural adaptation of immigrants (Berry et al. 2006; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2006). Also, in a study on refugee integration, tolerance and lack of discrimination were seen as cardinal factors required for integration (Ager and Strang 2004: 3-4).

(ii) Safe and Secure Environment

Having a safe and secure environment was widely embraced by the participants as a pronounced aspect of their feeling of being integrated in the UK. As was discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4, provision of a safe environment was viewed as an expectation to be met by the host society, and especially as it offered the interviewees a kind of mental and physical freedom, that was experienced in a strikingly more constrained way in India. As already explained in Chapter 4, the idea of 'feeling safe' as an understanding of integration was strongly gendered. Although grounded in the circumstances and general social framework of Indian society, it translated in the social context of the UK as the way the participant women actually perceived and lived their everyday existence. The integration requirement of having a safe and secure environment, not surprisingly, was also present in studies on refugee integration. For instance, Ager and Strang pointed out that 'feeling safe from threats by other people' was viewed as a local understanding of integration (2004: 3). In accordance with such findings, in a later study they noted, a 'sense of personal safety was for many [of the participants] paramount' (Ager and Strang 2008: 183).

5.3.2 Host Society as Aggregate of People

(i) Acceptance

When the host society was apprehended as the aggregate of its inhabitants, which was a more tangible concept than the host society as a political unit, different expectations began to be formulated. These were, for instance, the expectation to be accepted, or that their approaches towards members of the host society would be reciprocated. The feeling of being accepted in the new host society seemed to be a strong, recurring concern, particularly relevant for the participants. Leela shared with us her unsettling feelings about whether she

would be accepted in the UK, a thought which preoccupied her shortly after her arrival to Britain.

> … at the time, I remember that, I thought that maybe, because generally in my heart I know everybody is, all the people are the same. But sometimes, when you hear things from people, oh my God what are you going to do, you are going to be the only non-British there, this that. So you do get kind of, God, what if I am not accepted for who I am?

Another participant linked acceptance to her workplace, where there were a 'lot of people from different backgrounds'. For Navdeep, acceptance was not a problematic issue. She experienced an accepting environment, which could be associated either with the nature of the group of people she encountered, but also, as she speculated, with her personal characteristics.

> … where I work, with a lot of people from different backgrounds and they are all accepting… I have never felt like not been accepted. So I have been very lucky, wherever I went and worked, everybody was very accepting and I am also very easy to bond with.

It could be tempting to equate the host society populace with British citizens, or even White English, including in the super-diverse city of London or other towns having witnessed considerable rates of in-migration from various ethnic backgrounds. However, migrants may have high exposure to members of ethnic minorities, or other migrants in various circumstances of life. Acceptance therefore may not be anticipated solely from White English but from people with whom migrants could have contact in general, which was a more comprehensive category than 'citizens of the host society', and which Zapata-Barrero (2003) suggests considering as a third major party to integration, besides migrants and host society. Notwithstanding, there might be an implicit wish of being accepted by the 'natives', as the lack of reciprocated social relations with native Brits still remained a concern for many participants. This was particularly conspicuous in Nafia's remark when she recounted in a particularly straightforward way the deep cleavage that she felt between official integration discourses and reaction to immigration by the (mainly) White British host society:

> If you look at East London, … as soon as the Bangladeshis started coming there, all of the White people disappeared. Why is that? So how are people supposed to integrate if as soon as people are coming in, you know, the [White] British people are leaving? So on the one hand the media wants people to integrate but on the other hand, the people themselves don't

> want them to integrate. How are you supposed to integrate? You can't integrate by just being amongst your own community.

In relation to the topic of acceptance, a strong commonsensicality also frequently appeared. As Poornima summarised,

> if I'm doing what I wanted and they're accepting it, I think that's the parameter of integration for me.

Acceptance could be closely related to the cosmopolitan sensibility of 'welcome and friendliness' or 'tolerance', which were raised by refugees when they attempted to grasp the essence of integration (Ager and Strang 2004: 3). This approach appeared in Leela's narrative, as well. She explained that being welcoming as a host society not only had positive mental repercussions for migrants but could also serve macro-level aims such as the 'economic development of the country'.

> But at the same time it is really important that other people are… there are opportunities for you, other people are welcoming and there are no things out there. So that way it is very important because otherwise you wouldn't. … I am just saying that imagine if someone was to come here for a job for which the skills are not available in the UK and then after coming here they had a horrible experience and then when they go back home, they are going to not want to come back ever. So that is probably for the economic development of the country as well it will not be good because, if you are not welcoming and if you don't welcome or integrate someone who you need, something here, and then they wouldn't want to come back and that thing would remain undone.

Acceptance has already been examined in this thesis, albeit from a different angle, when acceptance of 'British' values was studied. As already mentioned, participants were willing to accept certain values or patterns of behaviour in order to integrate as long as such compliance did not infringe their personal value and belief systems. However, unconditional acceptance is not an intrinsic feature of any society, including the British. As Manjula indicated, acceptance in Britain was preconditioned inasmuch as it required adherence to specific canonised and widely mediatised 'Enlightenment values', such as democracy, or opposition to 'excessive religiosity, possibly homophobia, the oppression of women' (these latter had been increasingly linked to certain ethnic minorities, and to the Muslim religion).

(ii) Reciprocity

Another expectation which migrants had of the host society was reciprocity. Reciprocity, mainly in terms of social relations, could be closely associated with acceptance. Many participants recounted that relations with their community, and especially neighbours, lacked reciprocity. In particular, the complaint of 'they never invite us back' kept resurfacing in their accounts, despite their continuous and seemingly natural efforts to establish more meaningful contacts with those who lived close by. Interestingly, even those who had been living in the UK for a longer time, and often at the same place, also voiced their perplexity about this 'British' feature. This was in sharp contrast to the general requirement of being accepted, considered in the previous section. Sitara put it,

> because I invited like 40, 45 people in my garden party. Because they never invite you back. … Integration is both ways. I invite you, you invite me. Integration is not one way. … If my next-door neighbour I invite him 13 times to eat with me, he doesn't invite me once, where is the integration?

Nafia observed the same:

> Participant: I think it has to be a two-way thing. You can't just say immigrants are not integrating. You have to have some forthcoming thing from the British people as well. Where they are also saying, okay, if you have a next door different community people, you tend to go and say "Hello!" but…
> Interviewer: But does it happen in reality?
> Participant: No! … Because I don't have that. I live in a block of flats and no, not at all. I know who my neighbours are and we might just say "Hello!" on the doorsteps, but we never say "Oh, let's meet up for a drink" or "Let's meet up for tea" or something like that. That would never happen.
> Interviewer: For how long have you been living there?
> Participant: I have been living here for six years now. So how do you integrate then?

Some pondered that this might be attributable to the difference between Indian and English/British culture in terms of social closeness, and especially how people of different ethnic or cultural backgrounds understand limits and permeability of private spaces and spheres. For example, Arundhati recounted the same phenomenon and tried to explain it as people's attempt to protect their space:

> Maybe it is a London thing, I don't know, but you don't talk to your neighbours. You don't even know who your neighbours even are. Whereas in India you would. … You would talk to them, they would come to your house, they would exchange food, there is always more to

> it. Here, I don't think there is. … In London especially I think, there is lack of space and people want to protect their space.

Fareeda also talked extensively of her bitter experience of lack of reciprocity, when narrating how much she offered her help and guided a British girl visiting India:

> So I met her in Delhi and I became very good friends with her because obviously she was somebody who was new to the city and she wanted help and I said okay. So like in my way I invited her home and I cooked food for her and then I took her to the market and then everything that I could have done.

However, sadly, such friendship or assistance was not reciprocated by the British girl when Fareeda visited London some time later. Fareeda, as she recounted, did not manage to meet her for a whole month despite constant attempts to find a suitable time to come together. Also, when the meeting finally occurred, the bill for the meal they consumed at their meeting in a 'fancy' restaurant needed to be settled by Fareeda herself. Reflecting on this widespread behaviour in the UK, Nafia called Brits 'user-abusers', 'in the sense they wouldn't mind taking stuff off you but they would not give anything back in return'. For her, Brits were not inclined to 'giving', meaning 'when I say giving, I am not purely relating to monetary terms. I am relating more in the sense of giving your time, being there for another individual'.

Interestingly, geographical space and location could make a marked difference. Some participants who were living in smaller British towns or villages testified to very good neighbourly relations. For example, Asha reported that when their family moved to a British village, many neighbours came to visit them and inquired with sincere kindness whether they could be of assistance. Or, Darshana, who moved to a smaller town in the vicinity of London, praised this circumstance, as that way 'you know better people, … they have time for you to talk to'. To my question, 'if you invite them, do they invite back?', she answered without hesitation with '[O]f course, yes'.

However, neighbours in highly diverse cities and towns could come from different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. As in the extracts cited in Section 5.3.2 (i) on acceptance, it is not clear whether participants referred to 'native' English, or the wider category of British, or people in general living in the UK. Also, Fareeda remarked, even in India neighbours did not necessarily know each other:

> Apart from that I don't know how to integrate actually because in India also situations are not very different from here because in India also they kind of […] I live, I don't know who is my next-door neighbour actually. We only meet when we fight on the parking that is the time I don't know understand what this woman is and in the park in Delhi when my daughter goes every child is playing with their nanny. So on Diwali or Eid we may see similar faces and similar people, you go shopping but if you look at our daily lives yes we speak same language in India, we maybe eat same food. That is the level of integration...

Were the participants' expectations of integration somewhat unrealistic? Giddens and Sutton point out that,

> a distinctive characteristic of contemporary urban living is the frequency of interactions with strangers. Even within the same neighbourhood or block of flats, it is unlikely that people will know most of their neighbours. (2013: 205)

This situation has been a focus of research by sociologists for a long time, from as early as the 19th century. Tönnies (2001 [1887]), for example, already expressed concern about the steady erosion of the *Gemeinschaft*, or bonds between communities, which 'he characterised as traditional close-knit ties, personal and often lifelong relationships between neighbours and friends, and a sense of duty and commitment' (Giddens and Sutton 2013: 206), and the ascendance of the *Gesellschaft.* This latter, also called 'associational bonds' comprised 'impersonal, relatively short-lived, transitory and instrumental' relationships (Gidden and Sutton 2013: 206). Wirth noted,

> place of residence, place and character of employment, income and interests fluctuate, and the task of holding organisations together and maintaining and promoting intimate and lasting acquaintanceship between the members is difficult. This applies strikingly to the local areas within the city (1938: 5).

Therefore, expectations of integration in the UK in terms of reciprocity of inhabitants of cities, where 'the superficiality, the anonymity, and the transitory character of urban-social relations' (Wirth 1938: 3) were frequently seen as the norm, might not be realistic.

This section had the primary aim of looking at participants' main integration-related expectations (or at least desires, worthy of discussing) from the host society. The next Section 5.4 will attempt to enumerate those features of understandings of integration that were believed to necessitate the exercise of agency by both migrants and host society.

5.4 Agency of Both Migrants and Host Society

This section investigates those acts and approaches supporting integration that participants expected to involve both themselves as migrants and the host society. These categories have already been mentioned in this chapter, either as tasks falling to migrants or the host society. Here, it is important to note that although certain acts were viewed as requirements falling on both migrants and the host society, their implementation showed great dissimilarities in scope of action and intensity.

5.4.1 Interaction on Both Sides

One of the mutual requirements expressed was to establish and maintain interactions between migrants and the host society. As already stated in Section 5.2 ('Agency of Migrants'), migrants' interaction and communication with members of the host society was a vital cognitive framework for conceptualising integration. It represented a fundamental need for the migrants to comprehend and learn about the host society, its values, beliefs and dynamics, which in turn would enable them to position and embed themselves in their new society. Interacting necessitated performing specific actions day by day, for instance, talking to strangers in a supermarket. As we have already seen, these encounters need not be deep; they could well be fleeting, nevertheless they remained meaningful for the individual migrant. Further, interactions were not necessarily with White English or British, but with any member of the wider host society who happened to be there at the time, in particular in the superdiverse geographical and social settings of London.

Inherent in the concept of interaction was that it involved at least two parties, the migrants and the host society. As interaction is fundamentally a multi-sided phenomenon, the host society, as the 'receptive' side of the coin, could not be omitted. Nonetheless, the implicitly expected contributions from the two sides were not in par. It was apparent from the participants' accounts that they felt the onus of initiating integration-related interactions fell heavily on them, while significantly less on the host society. As the migrants were those claiming membership in a new social setting, pressure on them to 'make an effort' was unquestionable, whilst the same could not be unreservedly said about the host society.

5.4.2 Tolerance on Both Sides

It might not be inappropriate to assume that a generally tolerant and harmonious environment could contribute to smoother social interactions. This statement leads us to the more abstract integration requirement of *tolerance*, primarily materialising as harmonious coexistence of people. Tolerance could be closely associated with acceptance from both sides – migrants and the host society – and also with respect for diversity. Tolerance is a highly abstract category whose concrete manifestations are difficult to pinpoint. In her summary of the essence of integration, Vimala said that tolerance, acceptance and respect should be the main building blocks for an environment enhancing integration. Although she made clear that tolerance was a conceptual state that was required mainly from migrants, it was evident from her account that the concept could not be applied solely in relation to migrants. It is argued that the mental dispositions of acceptance, respect and tolerance constitute a type of cognitive backbone that stabilises societies inherently scarred through various cleavages, therefore exercising agency merely on the migrants' side may not be sufficient.

5.5 Integration as a Two-Way Process?

Having reviewed the requirement for both migrants and the host society to exercise agency, it is interesting to see to what extent did participants consider integration a two-way process?

In conceptual terms, integration should be clearly viewed as a two-way process (Raghuram 2007: 2247). As a previous EU document described, this conceptualisation

> implies on the one hand the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants are in place in such a way that the individual has the possibility of participating in economic, cultural and civil life and on the other, the immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, without having to relinquish their own identity. (EU 2003, p. 17–18).

Instead of emphasising the host society's normative function, others, such as Barkan (1995), viewed the position of the host society in a different way by focusing on society as a mouldable entity, that could and eventually would be affected by the presence of

immigrants. Many of the participants believed, and some of them spelt out, that integration was a co-production of both the main actors, i.e. the host society and the migrants. For instance, Madhuri and Leela highlighted the need for the host society to be 'welcoming' or have 'ways' of enabling migrants to feel integrated.

> Integration is, you have a system that the things are done and when you go as a new person and it is easy for you to acquire that system and be a part of it. On the other side, that system is welcoming and easy to accept or they have ways where you can learn to accept ... (Madhuri)

> [I]t is true that even yourself you have to make an effort. It is not, you cannot just sit back and do nothing and then expect everybody to come and talk to you and everybody to find you a job or do all those things… But at the same time it is really important that … other people are welcoming… (Leela)

It transpired from the participants' descriptions that although it was politically correct to think about integration as a two-way process, some of them were not convinced this indeed corresponded with reality. For instance, in Nafia's statement: 'I think it [integration] *has* to be a two-way thing', from the use of the verb 'has', her uncertainty and external pressure was detectable. This surmise later proved to be correct when she explained that she believed the 'two-way thing' did not happen:

> Participant: I think it has to be a two-way thing. You can't just say immigrants are not integrating. You have to have some forthcoming thing from the British people as well. Where they are also saying, okay, if you have a next door different community people, you tend to go and say 'Hello!' but…
> Interviewer: But does it happen in reality?
> Participant: No! … Because I don't have that. I live in a block of flats and no, not at all. I know who my neighbours are and we might just say 'Hello!' on the doorsteps, but we never say 'Oh, let's meet up for a drink' or 'Let's meet up for tea' or something like that. That would never happen.

Sitara also voiced her frustration regarding the lack of reciprocity by the host society, as in her view, reciprocity would make integration a 'two-way street'.

> Integration is a two-way street. Not one way. … Integration is both ways. I invite you, you invite me. Integration is not one way… If my next-door neighbour I invite him 13 times to eat with me, he doesn't invite me once, where is the integration? (Sitara)

The ideal of 'two-way street' integration had, from time to time, been reiterated at higher echelons of the political sphere in the UK. The recent Interim Report into Integration of Immigrants of the All Party Parliamentary Group called for the government to 'recognise that integration is a two-way street, requiring the involvement of both newcomers and host communities' (2017: 5). The wording of this expectation clearly suggested that the idea of two-way integration has not yet been recognised by the government. The equally recent, government commissioned 'Casey Report' (2016) asserted that Britain's multicultural attitude to ethnic minority integration led to segregation of communities and parallel lives, the findings of which report purportedly provided evidence for its author, Dame Louise Casey, to declare, 'I don't think it's [integration] a two-way street. I think that's a *sound-bite* that people like to say' (BBC News 2017). These influential political outputs remind us about the fragile nature of the widely echoed 'two-way street' integration idea. Thus, despite the widely voiced policy, media and sometimes academic discourses on integration being a two-way or even multiple-vector phenomenon, participants believed that the responsibility to integrate rested to a great extent with them. Not only did they appear to be aware of this circumstance, they also seemed to acknowledge it by refraining from enunciating too specific expectations from the host society in terms of integration. For example, no expectation of help from the state related to structural integration, such as housing, language learning, further education, etc., could be detected in their accounts. Therefore, although participants incontestably endorsed the abstract morality of a two-way integration ideal, on the whole, their migration histories testified to the opposite.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the participants' understandings of integration arranged in a manner to indicate which main actor was required or expected to act in the process of integration: the migrants, the host society, or both. Firstly, those integration-related responsibilities and liabilities were inspected that were deemed to rest with migrants. Secondly, integration expectations falling to the host society – still in the participants' estimation – were explored. Thirdly, those requirements to integration were looked at for which agency of both migrants and host society was considered necessary. Following that, and in view of the findings, this chapter deliberated on the conception of integration as a 'two-way street' phenomenon.

In relation to those understandings of integration where the migrants' agency was perceived to be needed, the following could be observed. Participants described integration primarily as a process based on the mental frameworks and techniques of communication / interaction, understanding and learning. Thus, through daily interactions and encounters within the host society, and by learning from such interactions, the migrant participants gained some degree of understanding of how their adopted society functioned at its various levels. These mental steps produced a stable cognitive background for those subsequent attitudinal changes and adopted behavioural strategies that interviewees viewed as required from them. They referred to these behavioural and attitudinal changes mainly by using the verbs 'accept', 'adjust', 'adapt', 'adopt', and 'get used to'. Examples of such changes were also more closely looked at in this chapter.

The presented attitudes and practices could be viewed as cosmopolitan, in particular, as cosmopolitanism is thought to be a 'mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238), a way of interacting with (cultural) difference (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Participants 'understood' that cultural and ethical differences and diversities co-existed in their everyday life in the British host cities (especially in London) and that such differences and diversities needed to be managed (Beck and Sznaider 2006). The interviews revealed that this was done through assuming cosmopolitan mental frameworks and practices, which manifested themselves mainly in 'communication/interaction', 'understanding' and 'learning'. For a more detailed description on cosmopolitanism, please see Section 2.5.6 above. For a long time cosmopolitanism has been viewed in the literature in rather abstract terms, such as a political or moral philosophy, a supra-identity, or as a world view or way of thinking (Vertovec and and Cohen 2002). However, more recently there has been growing scholarly output enquiring into empirical, practised forms of cosmopolitanism. These stances used the label of 'ordinary' (Lamont and Aksartova 2002), 'everyday' (Datta 2009; Nowicka and Rovisco 2012; Zeng 2014) or 'vernacular' (Radford 2016; Wang and Collins 2016; Wise 2016) for cosmopolitanism in an attempt to highlight the 'grounded', more empirical nature of these practised forms of cosmopolitanism (Binnie et al. 2006; Çaglar 2002; Young et al. 2010). The cosmopolitan sensibility and practices thus displayed occur at the micro-level of everyday life in the city. The present study contributes to this emerging literature. It does so in the way that it explores everyday cosmopolitan practices of migrants in the host country or more precisely in their host cities. However, such a cosmopolitan stance, as will be argued in Section 6.2.2 (Role of the City) of this thesis, could to a great extent be attributed to the fact that participants came from big cities in their home (or other) country before migrating to London or to other cities in the UK. It is likely that cosmopolitanism, in this sense, could have been practised in urban contexts even before migrating to the UK. Also, such

cosmopolitan practices and empirical mental approaches would later be applied (accordingly) to mitigate cultural (and other) differences encountered in the host country, as recounted by the interviewees. This could contribute to 'smoother' integration in the host country cities (Crețu 2017), and could inform the participants' understandings of integration.

In addition, it transpired from the narratives that what participants regarded as their *obligation* in the integration process was a certain form of acculturation. In this sense, as Berry posited (1994, 1997), integration could be regarded as 'one possible dimension of the acculturation process' (Phillimore 2012: 2). As already detailed in this chapter, acculturation was viewed as a major understanding of integration; however, it could neither be equated with it, nor did it cover all facets of life where integration was experienced by the participants. It is interesting and slightly puzzling why participants put so much stress on cultural aspects of integration, whilst remaining relatively silent about domains of life where integration was seen as strongly shaped by the existing social structures of the host society. Policy documents and numerous empirical studies construct the concept of integration by taking into account the unarguably existing structural impediments (Korac 2001) operating for instance on the labour market, or in relation to housing or schooling. These all tend to have crucial impacts on migrants' integration experiences. For instance, in their 'conceptual framework defining core domains of integration', Ager and Strang (2008:170) identified the structures of employment, housing, education and health as the main 'markers and means' of integration. Even though such structural organisational elements of the host society were discussed in the interviews, they were not conceptualised as direct parts of the participants' understandings of integration. Instead, these were referred to as areas where the interviewees had negative or positive experiences during their life in the host country. I believe it is essential to reflect on this issue. As Klusmeyer (2001: 528) reminded us, accentuating the cultural aspect of integration could lead to overlooking underlying social relations of power that configure all processes of integration (also e.g. Sakamoto 2007), be they social, economic or political. It is beyond doubt that to gain a well-rounded image of how immigrants integrate into a new host society, structural and institutional aspects of the integration process are equally important to consider. However, we must keep in mind that the primary aim of this essay was to enquire into how the highly educated migrant women participants apprehended and constructed the abstract concept of integration. Yet, what could be the reasons for foregrounding acculturation in the narratives, while neglecting structural forces that possibly significantly shape integration processes? Could that be related to the abstract nature of the notion of integration? Would the highly educated participants feel compelled to converse about similarly abstract, conceptual ideas when confronted with a question on such a slippery and hard to grasp notion? Or could it be attributed to the belief

that mental and behavioural processes formed the basis for other processes, such as those linked to integration into the structures of society, in order for these latter aspects of integration to 'work'? Or, still within this train of thought, was structural integration a phenomenon that migrants expected would take place over time, and thus did not feel the need to deliberate too much about that? Conclusive answers to these questions could most probably not be given. It is however likely that a unique combination of the contemplated factors, and possibly others, were behind such understandings of integration.

As to how and to what extent these conscious and unconscious behavioural changes were implemented, a general attitude of 'pick and mix' could be detected from the interviewees' accounts. The picking element not only testified to the existence of behavioural elements that were different from the migrants' previously interiorised ones and thus could be 'picked up'. It also showed they believed they had unconstrained discretion over adopting and exercising certain behavioural acts while discarding others. This implied a profound belief in the power of individual agency over structure. This seemed to be in line with current integration theories, where structural forces remain undertheorised, and more emphasis is placed on migrants' agency (Chaudhary 2016).

As we have seen in this chapter, participants made such changes in their behaviour that they felt comfortable with and that were in line with their 'original' values, ideals, ideas, and norms, which could also be viewed as universalist (Nussbaum 1996) and cosmopolitan. Many interviewees expressed that they did not feel that the behavioural changes they made were major demands or sacrifices, in particular, as they had already largely embraced those major values and norms that are usually referred to as 'British' in policy rhetoric, even prior to their arrival to the UK. As Fareeda put it, instead of the need to adopt behavioural changes that could have possibly had fundamental repercussions on cherished aspects of her 'original' identity, she felt she only needed to acquire a set of behavioural 'mannerisms' to integrate in Britain. Not being intimidated from public display of distinct identity traits played a key role in some participants' willingness to accept, adjust, adapt, adopt, or get used to, hence to integrate. Also, such a process had its own pace, as was acceptable for the participants. Nevertheless, the role of pragmatism and commonsense in relation to integration should not be dismissed.

It is important to remind ourselves that the participants had an above average level of financial, cultural and social capital. Participants both shaped and were shaped by the privileged backgrounds closely associated with their class positions. Class position was not only responsible for individual lifestyles, ways of thinking, aspirations, and life chances, but

usually determined the different types and forms of capital that the migrants possessed and ultimately could mobilise. It is argued that their backgrounds already allowed the participants to position themselves advantageously in terms of social structures. For instance, if we focus on education, all of them had pursued higher educational studies, with a high number of them gaining postgraduate degrees, often already in the UK. In general, their education in India had been conducted in English, as most participants were socially advantaged enough to have received English-language private education. By being highly educated, and speaking the language of the host society at a very high level right from their arrival in the country, they might have faced structural adversities in a different, less cumbersome way than less privileged migrants (although, certainly, this could not apply to everyone). Another positive aspect of their financial standing was that most of them did not need to rely on welfare assistance in terms of housing or health. Their backgrounds thus may have carved out advantageous positions for them that could be translated into their everyday integration experiences, and thus could have impacted on their understandings of integration. Therefore, even though their narratives on the concept of integration did not focus on social structures as such but rather emphasised migrants' own acculturation and agency, it is important to approach integration, even of such highly educated migrant women, through the combined prism of both macro-level social and micro-level individual contexts and histories (Sewell 1992; Masso 2009) in their 'temporal and spatial situativeness' (Giddens 1989).

Regarding the other side of the integration coin, i.e. the host society, participants indicated different expectations. These varied depending on whether the host society was considered as a political unit, or as the aggregate of residents in the UK. The vague ideals of a 'clear, fair and set system', and the more precise 'safe and secure environment' were viewed as the task falling on the host society as a political unit, whilst significantly more palpable actions such as 'acceptance' and 'reciprocity' were associated with a concept of the host society defined through its members. It could be observed that the participants' expectations of the host society as a political unit remained primarily at the level of abstraction. It involved the establishment and maintenance of an environment where integration was possible, i.e. the provision of a framework for integration, as opposed to requesting more concrete actions from the host society. Also, the UK could arguably already be defined by a 'clear, fair and set system' and 'safe and secure environment', which features of society had neither been specifically developed for, nor specifically targeted at migrants. Instead, these societal traits could be reasonably expected to be in place in all democratic states, whose beneficiary in general is the population as a whole.

Certain acts were identified as necessitating the active involvement of both host society and migrants, such as interaction, and also tolerance and harmony for peaceful cohabitation. Nevertheless, the level of intensity of involvement in these activities diverged for the two sides. Participants generally perceived that migrants should 'do more' to integrate.

To conclude, a detachment of political and theoretical discourses from actually lived experiences of integration was apparent in the narratives. Firstly, integration was not lived as a two-way process by the participants, although construed morally and mentally as such. As discussed in this chapter, the interviewees believed the onus on integrating rested to a significant extent with them, whilst the host society was not viewed as an entity that would need to assume a substantial, palpably active role in the process of immigrant integration. Secondly, in the light of the above, participants appeared to be deeply convinced about the heightened role of their self-responsibility as a foundation for integration. The neo-liberal idea of self-responsibility is a notion deeply engrained in individualisation, according to which 'each person's biography is removed from given determinations, and placed in his or her hands, open and dependent upon decision' (Beck 1992: 135). As such, individuals manage their own lives, including in terms of welfare (Giddens 1998). In line with such a postulation, the interviewed migrants clearly chose not to rely on possible host society integration interventions, be they structural or of other types. Instead, they undertook responsibility by exercising their individual agency to integrate. The idea of self-responsibility has been increasingly hailed in modern Western societies, and is ever more expected from individuals living in those societies. As De Leeuw and van Wichelen (2012) pointed out, the institutionalised form of integration that was implemented mainly through civic integration tests in some Western European countries especially valued self-responsibility of the individual immigrants. Moreover, these expectations had been largely formulated in discursive political and media environments where migrants were defined as less educated, poor and thus necessarily relying on welfare state interventions. It is essential to note that the participants in this research did not fit the preconceived image of the dependent migrant constructed by such rhetoric. As already explained, their fairly stable financial backgrounds coupled with sufficient and relatively easily mobilisable social and cultural capital set them apart from the above-mentioned disadvantaged immigrants. Their advantageous position could have played a material role in their integration-related expectations in the host society, and thus could have impacted on their apprehensions of integration. Finally, and strongly linked to the previous note, not only did participants assume responsibility in terms of their own integration but, as already articulated, they deeply believed in the power of their individual agency over structure.

Chapter 6 which follows will explore certain pre-migration factors and circumstances that could have materially informed the participants' understandings of integration.

6 Chapter 6 – Major Pre-Migration Factors Possibly Impacting on Understandings of Integration

6.1 Introduction

After having discussed in the previous chapter how participants understood the concept of integration in the UK, this chapter will examine certain major pre-migration factors that have had possible material impacts on how interviewees understood the concept of integration. Although many circumstances exist that could have shaped understandings of integration, this chapter will consider only a handful of them, selected to reflect their particularly pivotal role for the interviewees. These will revolve around the following themes: (i) exposure to (super-)diversity and difference, practiced cosmopolitanism and the role of the city, (ii) education in India as a mean to gain exposure to English/British culture, and finally (iii) pre-migration class position. Favouring these factors over others certainly is not intended to suggest that other considerations could not play or have not played a role in structuring an individual's ways of thinking, and their comprehension of the concept of integration. The identified pre-migration factors, however, showed an increased level of significance for the migrants. Also, the literature on immigrant integration appears not to accord adequate importance to pre-migratory factors and circumstances, as it predominantly focuses on the post-migration period. This provides an even stronger rationale for exploring such factors and circumstances.

6.2 (Super-)Diversity and Difference in Various Context

Societies are inherently diverse. Both British and Indian societies are highly diverse, one could argue, super-diverse (Vertovec 2007). This (super-)diversity, however, is articulated in dissimilar ways. The participants had been exposed to super-diversity and difference both before and after migrating to the UK, albeit in very different ways. By using the concept of difference besides super-diversity, I wish to emphasize the identified cosmopolitan theoretical lens through which diversity is perceived and managed by the highly educated migrant participants. In particular, as the concept of 'difference' is a widely employed distinction in the literature on cosmopolitanism. Even though super-diversities and

differences in various contexts may be construed in dissimilar ways, encountering them and the need to navigate such spaces call for the adoption of certain mental approaches, skills and behaviours, which could be practised (even if in an altered form) in newer settings, as well.

Being exposed to environments of super-diversity and difference and the practices adopted to manage such differences had considerable effects on how participants navigated new cultural and social environments, how they interacted with others, what their emotional approach was to their adopted societies, and also, how they conceptualised their understandings of integration. This section will firstly discuss super-diversity and difference in both Indian and British contexts. Following that, the role of cities as condensed spaces of super-diversity and difference will be considered, and also in terms of spaces of practised cosmopolitanism through which such diversity and difference is continuously navigated. Finally, other considerations enhancing exposure to diversity and difference will be examined, such as frequently changing places of living or frequent travelling, living in other country(ies) prior to moving to the UK, and also professions as possible spaces where diversity and difference had to be managed in the everyday life of the migrants.

6.2.1 (Super-)Diversity and Difference in India and the UK

(i) (Super-)Diversity and Difference in India

> India is as big a world as Western Europe. It is as different, various parts of India are very, very different. I have been to places in India that my parents don't even know that they exist because they are the remotest of the villages. (Radha)

Indian society is extremely complex with its many ethnic groups, cultures, spoken languages, social layers, religions, etc. As Gupta (2005) put it, 'India is quite undeniably the most stratified in the world'.

> It is very diverse. And in my view, in India, there have been all sorts of people have invaded and come and we have accepted everyone. We stuck by our culture, but we have accepted everyone. So, in many ways it is a very accepting society. (Lakshmi)

Its extraordinary diversity, or super-diversity, is both visible and hidden to the eyes. It is conspicuous through numerous ethnographic, cultural, linguistic, physical, etc. markers. For

instance, Gauri commented on the linguistic richness of the population in India where it was very common for a person to speak more than one, not infrequently half a dozen languages, for various reasons (e.g. intra- and intergenerational internal movements). She admitted,

> I could probably speak very fluently three or four languages, read and write… Even then I found myself as inadequate when I was back home because people around me could speak more than that.

Linguistic pluralism in India was contrasted with British experiences by Jyoti, who mentioned that 'if you are living in London or you are living in the UK, people speak one language, but in India every locality has a different language.'

Another participant portrayed variety in physical appearance in India:

> Indians are your colour; Indians are African colour. … India is the only place in the world where you have European skin to African skin. In between Chinese looking people, Thai looking people and every look in the Middle Eastern, because it is all mix. There is a village in Gujarat and everybody looks… they are of African descent, they have African hair, African features, but they are Indians. Again, because India is very dense, in the middle there is a very dense jungle. There are people who live there, they look exactly like aborigines. … And if go to Himachal, similar, Kashmir, people are very fair skin. … Blue eyes, green eyes. India doesn't have any particular look.

The Indian (super-)diverse difference, on the other hand, played out in less visible ways, as well. Social inequality has been generated and maintained mainly through the caste system, a still powerful social stratificatory system of origins grounded in religious believes and hierarchies (please see section 2.4.4 for a more detailed summary of the Indian caste system, and 2.4.5 for its link with class). However, other social structures could also be noticed that underpin power imbalances, related for instance to education, financial standing, or gender (see the discussion on gender-specific power inequality and its impact on understandings of integration in Chapter 4), class being a major one (see Section 2.4.3 on Middle Class in India). The stratification of Indian society according to divergent legal statuses producing rights and obligations was also a substantial facet of super-diversity, already recognised by Vertovec (2007) as a remarkable, although often overlooked aspect of the concept. When deliberating about Indian migration, it is important to consider not only international but also internal migration, especially as internal migration is a way to escape social inequalities, while it remains a process recreating inequalities. In a very insightful article, Abbas (2015) explored the nexus between citizenship and internal migration in an Indian context. She

uncovered that it was not infrequent for internal migrants in India to have experienced limited citizenship rights due to misuse of power at the local level, which remained uncontrolled and uncontrollable by the State. As she stated,

> it would seem that unlike international migrants, internal migrants ought to have the same legal status as others in the receiving society since they too possess juridical national citizenship. In developing countries, however, weak institutions make documentation of legal status uneven, and often inaccessible to the poor (2015: 3).

Social status is closely linked to financial status in most societies. However, participants often felt the gap between those who *have* and those who *don't have* in a more pronounced way in India than in the UK. Bhavi remarked, 'I feel in India the rich–poor divide is much wider [than in the UK]'. This heightened divide in India seemed to apply to other social dichotomies as well, for instance in relation to the urban–rural categories. Radha remembered the cultural and mental differences that her city-dweller parents displayed when visiting an Indian village.

> My parents, I took them to one place and they behaved like bloody foreigners when I said, I did look at them and I had to apologise to my friends in the villages please ignore these idiots coming from the urban town.

Or, Darshana gave an even more poignant example of the urban–rural separation, and its common links with socio-economic outcomes, when she told the story of the socio-geographical mobility of her mother-in-law:

> … they [the family of her mother-in-law] fell on the bad times, so they had to move to a jungle, woods to stay because they didn't have enough to survive in the city. So they went to a jungle with they had this dilapidated house where they stayed without proper amenities. … And they stayed there for 14 years till their son got into the army and he started sending them some money and now they all moved to […].

In the migration scholarship, internal migration has not been paid adequate attention as opposed to international migration (although such hiatus has been increasingly addressed in the literature). Internal migration, nevertheless, in most home (and host) countries remains an important determinant of the social set-up, and thus cannot be disregarded, particularly as it could cause notable social cleavages by reconfiguring the rights and obligations of individuals and families. Intra-country geographic fluidity was also observed in the participants' accounts when, in a few cases, they struggled to locate their origins in terms of

the states of India. This could be mainly attributed to frequent and not easily retraceable internal migratory paths of ancestors, who despite their mobility, preserved and passed on to their children many aspects of their previous cultures. Bhavi found it difficult to establish where she belonged; she felt she could claim her origins were in both Karnataka and Kerala States. Sushila was also hesitant to locate her exact geographical origins, as her grandparents had fled the newly created state of Pakistan at the time of Partition. Finally, to my question which state of India was she originally from, Radha answered openly and wittingly: 'God knows'.

Indian super-diverse difference is thus explored 'as a context in which these variables play out in complex social patterns' (Meissner 2015: 556), as opposed to the aggregate of distinct factors. The Indian super-diverse context was highly contextual and in constant fluidity. This context served as a framework in which practicalities of integration and acculturation were lived and negotiated as daily phenomena by millions of Indians. This form of super-diversity, which was viewed by the participants as the norm that manifested in their everyday lives, could also be referred to as 'commonplace diversity', where 'diversity as such is not problematised, but it is just part of everyday life' (Wessendorf 2010: 26). Exposure to this kind of diversity generated but also necessitated specific mind-frames conducive to integration, or at least to acclimatisation to certain social settings. This was in line with Berry's argument in which he posited that acculturation and changes needed for navigating intercultural terrains

> have become more and more important in the rest of the world, where massive population contacts and transfers are taking place ... Particularly in Asia, where half of the world's population lives in culturally diverse societies, people experience daily intercultural encounters and have to meet the demands for cultural and psychological change (2005: 700).

Although his argument accentuated the cultural aspect of diversity and difference, it could be applied to constellations of a great number of further social variables, partly explored in this chapter. Taking all the above into account, I believe that exposure to (super-)diverse difference in India and the need to navigate spaces of (super-)diverse difference thus might have greatly impacted on participants' integration experiences in the UK, and as such could have shaped their understandings of integration.

(ii) (Super-)Diversity and Difference in the UK

Following their arrival in Britain, and mainly in London, participants continued to live in super-diverse realities. However, the diversity encountered in the UK turned out to be in many respects dissimilar to the diversity lived and navigated in India, as was apparent from the narratives. Differences in diversities are historically grounded. UK immigration rules and policies, such as border controls, and more recently integration requirements and stronger attempts at securitisation, have been moulding the host country's demographic composition, thus acting as filters for (super-)diversity. A significant number of those who migrated to Britain legally over time were among the wealthier and the more educated, such as in general the East African Asians migrating to the UK in the 1970s from Kenya and Uganda. Whilst others, such as many of those arriving from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in the 1960s, were less educated and had little English knowledge. With the 2004 enlargement of the EU, Britain experienced an inflow of people on an unexpectedly large scale from the newly joined A10 states, over whose mobility Britain had far less control. This inevitably reconfigured the already heterogeneous British ethnographic, cultural and social landscape. When using the concept of super-diversity for the first time in the academic literature, Vertovec applied it to Britain, famously stating that 'diversity in Britain is not what it used to be' (2007: 1024). Although he based his statement primarily on available statistics on demographics, his original hypothesis could well have been informed by noticeable visual and audible changes encountered on the streets of Britain, and particularly London. One of the participants, Fareeda, had believed Britain was a largely mono-ethnic, mono-cultural place, an idea that was by and large fed by secondary school readings in English/British literature. Thus, upon arrival in Britain, she was surprised to confront the unexpectedly diverse appearance and the visible differences of the population. She noted,

> I am romantic, all of us are, I was in Victorian age. I was thinking of Pride and Prejudice, these things. [laughing] I was looking for men who were […] like Dickens. But first of all I didn't know that there will be so many Indians also people who look like me here. I have never known that it would be so multicultural, it would be so different. I thought it would be all foreigner and maybe Indians, Pakistanis and other people from different… but not so many. … Though I knew certain figures, there are reports and there are this, but to see them happening and to see them in front of your eyes is different. … In the train, there are people speaking different languages, they all look you know Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, everyone. … So that was something pretty shocking.

Super-diversity and the encountered difference in India and Britain, however, I contend, is dissimilar. One could argue that Indian society has wider, deeper cleavages along more lines and markers than British society, while British super-diverse differences are chiefly the product and context of, on the one hand, immigration from the entire world, of people of

different nationalities, ethnicities, cultures, and so on, and, on the other, immigration policies. As an example of British super-diversity, Gauri observed,

> Britain has people from all the world because they had colonies all over the world and standing here in London you will see people from every country which probably you have only heard of. I had never really met anybody apart from my own country before I came to this country.

6.2.2 Role of the City

It is essential to discuss the role of cities firstly as geographical and social spaces where (super-)diversity and difference are experienced in a condensed form. Secondly, they allow for a largely identical lifestyle in different parts of the world, which probably renders integration in a previously unknown but bigger urban space less problematic. Particular urban geographies, their demographic composition, their constant fluctuations structure migrants' everyday life moments. As most participants had grown up and lived in big cities in India or elsewhere, and continued to live in cities after having migrated to the UK, the possible impacts of urban life on their integration experience should not be neglected. Therefore, in this section, these two aspects of the city will be looked at.

(i) (Global/Mega) Cities as Condensed Spaces of Super-Diversity and Difference

Global cities, a term devised by Saskia Sassen (1991), are bigger geographical locales that have developed into global nodes of trade, certain types of services, and innovation, instead of relying only on the traditional attributes of urban industrialised areas, such as manufacturing. In these settlements, the population is tangibly linked to global economic forces and financial power (Castells 1996). Besides these aspects, global cities are also home to extremely diverse demographic topographies ('if you are in London, you meet people from all around the world' - Jyoti), with an extraordinarily composite social, cultural, and financial, etc. configuration. They are thriving multicultural settings where (super-)diverse differences are part of everyday life and are seen as the norm, particularly by newly arrived migrants. These cities 'play a role in ensuring socio-cultural integration within diverse multi-ethnic populations… from many countries, with varying religious and linguistic backgrounds, and different socio-economic levels' (Giddens and Sutton 2013: 238). London is one of such global cities with its truly diverse geographies. Many have studied the super-

diversity of London. Vertovec (2007) first proposed this concept in his often-cited article about super-diverse London. Following that a great number of scholars investigated London primarily through an ethno-centric lens or by using ethnicity as a marked organizing principle. For instance, Wessendorf (2014) gave an account of the everyday conviviality that could be experienced in a super-diverse London neighbourhood. Knowles (2013) wrote about the invisible 'Nigerian London', as she called it, a space defined by ethnicity which was present for over two hundred years but remained under the radar. Whilst Sepulveda et al. (2011) used a different approach, they looked at super-diverse London from an economic lens by calling attention to the growing rate of migrant enterprises in London, while Nathan and Lee (2013) used the concept to assess links between cultural diversity, innovation and entrepreneurship at the level of companies. In Dipti's opinion, London was felt as even more diverse than New York, a traditional immigrant magnet of the Global North. She said,

> I think New York is quite diverse, as well. I think London might be a bit more to be honest just because, it is diverse in New York, then everybody is a bit American, I think there is lots of Eastern Europeans in London, lots of people coming from the Middle East. I feel London is a bit more diverse.

However, remarkable diversity and difference, and their (dis)advantages were perceived by the participants as a feature not only of London but of other British towns as well, such as Cambridge or even Peterborough. According to Leela,

> in Cambridge you have got a lot of mixed population of students, so you don't really feel that it is a British town. … it is more of a touristy kind of place' or 'if you go around maybe in the town it is no like, again it is not like very British kind of a place, there are all kinds of mixed people. So I think even that makes a difference because you are not, you are kind of, you are different but then everyone is different around you, so it didn't matter for me.

Big Indian cities, or as Castells (1996) called them, megacities, showed some of these features. For instance, in Fareeda's recollection

> Delhi is big, it is multicultural. You had people from different walks of life, different states of India and some time abroad and when you meet different kinds of people you also broaden your own perspective…

Others had similar views of Mumbai (Arundhati), Bangalore (Bhavi) or Kolkata (Vimala). Thus, with their multifaceted heterogeneity, big cities provided the perfect milieu for exposure to super-diversity and difference. In such diverse habitats, migrants integrated into

social webs mirroring fragmented mosaics. These fragmented mosaics are in constant evolution, they keep being deconstructed and reconstructed, reinvented by their inhabitants; they are 'so transient in its [their] nature' (Arundhati). In these environments, migrants were constantly exposed to different cultures, although to varying degrees. Also, they were milieus where openness to cultural differences could be brought into practice to navigate difference. As is perceptible, these attributes are thought to be the core features of the cosmopolitan mind-frame (e.g. Hannerz 1996). The attitudinal stances described and their manifestations in practice could possibly enhance integration and management of difference not only in home city contexts but also in new, host country urban settings, as well.

Also, another benefit of living in a highly diverse urban area was that it enabled the interviewees to 'blend in', i.e. not to assume the position of being conspicuous and uncomfortably different. Arundhati felt this way:

> I think London is a lot easier than other cities. In the UK especially. You have so many nationalities here, you feel part of the crowd…. so many different cultures are in one place. You sort of blend in very well, whereas in a community where there are only British Whites you might not.

This links to the question, which areas of urban spaces could be viewed as more conducive to integration: those which were ethnically more homogeneous or the more diverse ones? Thus, what is the impact on integration, of living in areas where Indians are under- or overrepresented? Nafia voiced her concerns that if migrants, and particularly migrants from the same nationality or geographical area, began constituting the majority population, it could negatively affect integration.

However, as London has a high Indian population, participants often felt a 'sense of security if you are in your own surrounding' (Lakshmi), in particular in Wembley or Osterley where large Indian communities live. Therefore, the consequential role of localities as geographical and social neighbourhoods in the process of integration should not be dismissed. Social relations were established with local residents, whether they were immigrants or natives, although Gauri believed, 'we tend to mix more with the people who are migrants like us'. Some of these social contacts positively surprised participants. Manjula described how in London mingling with Pakistanis was neither impossible, nor viewed as an implicit taboo, which was in contrast with her experience in India.

> There are people, who mingle and interact and find friendships across communities, enjoy that. … the first Pakistani I met was in Britain because obviously the state of relationship between India and Pakistan being such, never, ever meet a Pakistani and yet they come from the same subcontinent with very similar culture. You come to London and you meet Pakistanis. It is wonderful and from that point that is my choice that I want to mingle and I want to make friendships across different networks.

Living either in urban or rural areas produced notable divergences in individual integration experiences, largely to the detriment of rural settings (e.g. Gauri). Radha explained why she felt glad about not living in a small village, but in Cambridge:

> I am very privileged to have been here [in Cambridge] and not been in a small village in Britain where I don't think I would have survived. Because I would have gotten castigated as an Indian and I am not.

A similar idea could be captured in another recollection:

> When I go on holidays to any of the suburbs in the UK, then you know you are one of the expats. Mainly because people in Waitrose for example are whites and you are the only dark person. (Arundhati)

(ii) Life in the City and Cosmopolitanism

All participants in this research had lived in bigger cities before their arrival in the UK. Most of them came directly from such big Indian cities as Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Kolkata, Amritsar, or Lucknow. Others had international migration histories outside of India, yet they lived in similarly big cities before they embarked on their newest migration journey to the UK. For example, one participant had lived in New York for a decade before migrating to the UK. Another interviewee established her life in the Netherlands when her family moved there in her teenage years, and later, in her twenties, she decided to move to London. A third participant recounted that they had relocated to the city of Karachi, Pakistan after her marriage, where they spent considerable time before coming to the UK, while another woman lived in Dubai for a similarly significant time due to her husband's work. Therefore, they moved *from* cities that were perceived as super-diverse with substantial socio-cultural (and also other) differences *to* cities that were similarly viewed as super-diverse with similarly weighty differences. While home and host city super-diversities and differences were felt, lived and construed in distinct ways, the interviewees' accounts testified to

similarities in lifestyles, world views and practices performed in the city. The cosmopolitan mental approaches, behaviours, lifestyles, and value systems that were learnt and practised in city contexts, defined by (socio-cultural) differences (Vertovec and Cohen 2002), could not only enhance harmonious co-existence of strangers in the home city (Young 1990). They could well contribute to the participants' understandings and practices of integration in the host city too.

Gauri, who arrived from Bangalore, mentioned, 'there is not much of a difference in terms of the urban life in India or the life here'. She acknowledged intrinsic similarities of urban lifestyles in various parts of the world. In doing so, she unconsciously recognised that the city is not simply a mere *locale*, a physical space of living, but is a space capable of forming ways of thinking and lifestyles of its inhabitants, whilst being sculpted by these latter. In his seminal work, 'Urbanism as a way of life', published early in the 20th century, Wirth (1938) attempted to enumerate those features of the 'great city' that made it an attractive urban hub, allowing establishment of a specific way of life:

> The dominance of the city, especially of the great city, may be regarded as a consequence of the concentration in cities of industrial and commercial, financial and administrative facilities and activities, transportation and communication lines, and cultural and recreational equipment such as the press, radio stations, theaters, libraries, museums, concert halls, operas, hospitals, higher educational institutions, research and publishing centers, professional organizations, and religious and welfare institutions. (p. 1)

The development of cities impacted enormously 'not only on habits and modes of behaviour but on patterns of thought and feeling'. These phenomena allowed for the creation of 'lifestyles and personality type that characterise modern cities' (Giddens and Sutton 2013: 206-220), often referred to as urbanism.

Others, for instance Sassen (2001) or Glick Schiller et al. (2006) put emphasis not so much on urban lifestyle but on *urban scale* (Brenner 1999) with its particular power hierarchies and configurations that may account for similarities when creating transnational social fields in different bigger cities (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007: 144) of home and host countries. The perception of similarities led to a feeling of ease in terms of adaptation. As Dipti commented, 'I am quite easy at being at home, as long as it is a big urban city'.

On the other hand, Maya construed her home city, Delhi, as a cosmopolitan space which in her estimation was basically not too dissimilar to London. She said,

> living in Delhi which is very cosmopolitan and you see foreigners there as well. And I don't think, okay yes culturally you might have differences like, I don't know, religiously or something, but otherwise generally the rules are the same I think that we've been taught by our parents, manners and all of these, which was same I think, its not so much different…

She viewed cosmopolitanism as both a mental approach and practical skills and behaviours of dealing with cultural differences in everyday life in Delhi's diverse environment, by abiding to universal codes of behaviour. What she instinctively subsumed under the notion of cosmopolitanism could be construed as a specific facet of cosmopolitanism, often referred to in the literature as cultural cosmopolitanism (Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Delanty 2006). Interestingly, she instinctively stressed those factors that had been perceived in the literature as main markers of cultural cosmopolitanism. These were openness, presence of difference, and need and willingness to navigate such environments fractured along differences. It is interesting to see that cosmopolitan sensibilities can be passed on from parents to children through socialization within the family. Despite the strong resemblance of Delhi and London urban lifestyles, and forms of practiced cosmopolitanism, Maya alluded to dissimilarities too. This was in line with Giddens and Sutton's (2013) argument cautioning us not to overlook geographic and historic divergences, notwithstanding the similarities encountered through life in the city.

Cities can also be conceptualised as realms of consumption of modern industrial output (Castells 1983), which are 'inherent aspect[s] of industrial capitalism'. Cosmopolitan consumption requires mobilization of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) 'through which people gain social status through cultural practices (forms of consumption or lifestyles) enabling them to demonstrate taste and judgement' (Young et al. 2006: 1688). These features have been becoming more notable in a seemingly ever more barrier-less, well-connected, and globalised world with a smooth flow of finances, services and communication. Mass culture becomes increasingly globally homogenised, which allows consumers of different cities in various parts of the world to have similar consumer experiences. Arundhati recounted the globalised experience of being 'more open to Western ideas', mediated by the Bollywood film industry.

> Because I was in an urban environment, especially in a city [Mumbai] where Bollywood actors and actresses live, you are more open to Western ideas. So that is why I think I was more Western anyway compared to the rest of the Indians.

The ‘Western ideas’ that she alluded to could be equated with manifestations of ‘consumerist cosmopolitanism’ (Calhoun 2002). This is thought to be a form of cosmopolitanism that is apparent from a global homogenization of aesthetical tastes, for instance in music or in the cinema and fashion industries, and thus which could be seen as the outcome of capitalistic consumerism practised at a global scale (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Nevertheless, ‘consumerist cosmopolitanism’ should be differentiated from cosmopolitanism, even though cosmopolitanism also has a global undertone, as it could be viewed ‘as globalization from within’ the individual, as an ‘internalized’ disposition (Beck and Sznaider 2006: 9).

Arudhati continued by contrasting urban with rural, and pointed out a common side effect of overpopulated areas, namely competition for basic amenities, such as work, or for possibilities in general. However, perseverance in the face of everyday competition instilled in her a certain way of thinking which later served her well when integrating in Britain.

> There is a massive difference in point of views, how big you can dream, possibilities, options. … Bombay is a tough city. It is very tough. Me, I struggled a lot in terms of hard work. So I knew that if I had nothing else than just my belief and my hard work I would get somewhere. … I think it is a Bombay thing, because there are so many people there is so much competition. You have to work hard to get somewhere.

As seen from the interviewees’ accounts, daily life spent in (super-)diverse cities crosscut with differences even before migrating to the UK generated certain cosmopolitan mental approaches, behaviours, inherently urban lifestyles, and value systems. These were assumed in an attempt to improve harmonious co-existence (Donald et al. 2009) with other, culturally (and through other markers) different ‘throwntogether’ (Massey (2005: 181) city-dwellers. There is a growing literature which investigates the empirics of ‘ordinary’ (Lamont and Aksartova 2002), ‘everyday’ (Datta 2009; Nowicka and Rovisco 2012; Zeng 2014) or ‘vernacular’ cosmopolitanism (Radford 2016; Wang and Collins 2016; Wise 2016), which are stances focusing on the referred ‘grounded’ forms of cosmopolitanism (Binnie et al. 2006; Çaglar 2002; Young et al. 2010) with mental approaches and practices playing out at the micro-level of everyday life. The present study contributes to this emerging literature, as it studies the role of cosmopolitanism that had already been practised in home city spaces. In particular, as it is highly possible that the display of a cosmopolitan sensibility and its practices could inform the participants’ understandings of integration in their host country city, as well.

6.2.3 Other Factors Enhancing Exposure to Diversity and Difference

Participants revealed other factors as well, that enhanced their exposure to diversity and difference. One of these was the frequent change of place of residence, or even extensive travelling, both within India and abroad. Relocating within India was mainly due to parents' (Ravleen, Leela), husband's (Nasira), and to a lesser extent, the participant's (Gauri) career or studies. For instance, Ravleen recounted that her father's army position required the family to relocate often to various parts of Northern and Central India such as the Punjab, Maharashtra, Himachal, Jammu and Kashmir, and New Delhi. Research on 'military children', who moved often because of their parents' work, showed that such a lifestyle did not only contribute to heightened exposure to various cultures but could have certain beneficial effects on children's personal development (Masten 2013: 207). Nevertheless, other research posited the opposite by arguing that in general, frequently changing place of residence could have rather negative consequences for children's psychological and cognitive development, except in families of higher socio-economic standing to a certain degree (Murphey et al. 2012). Leela, the daughter of a frequently transferred diplomat, believed that her ability to adapt quickly to new circumstances stemmed from their numerous moves:

> Participant: And literally every three years I used to go to a new place and even if it was within the same country, within India, they used to keep moving from one place to the other, and therefore I think it is very easy for me to adapt. … So I think it really was difficult as it was at the time because you are making friends and you are losing them, but it is really good in terms of you become so adaptable.
> Interviewer: Yeah, absolutely. So you said that, actually your integration is maybe shaped by this because you are absolutely flexible, adaptable.
> Participant: 100%, I think. I don't have doubt about that.

Interestingly, she described the process of settling, establishing new social networks and then severing them in a natural, slightly neutral way, as if to acknowledge that life could be viewed as a jigsaw puzzle constantly being assembled and reassembled, with parts that were more stable and others less. However, living in a constant state of transience, a kind of 'physical footlooseness' (Wirth 1938: 5) was felt by Gauri, who, since her arrival in the UK five years ago, has moved every single year due to work positions. Although she believed she had become more adaptable following such constant changes, she lamented that it deeply impacted on her ability to form lasting friendships, and thus her feeling of being integrated in Britain.

Living in other countries before moving to the UK can broaden one's horizons, and make one more open to diversity and difference. This could also include the ability to understand and get accustomed to new ways of life (cf. Wortman's (2002) research on students who had spent time abroad). Many of the participants had spent at least a year abroad for various reasons, to pursue studies (e.g. Dipti in Spain and the US, Shashi in Australia), do work (e.g. Soraya in South Africa), including husband's work (e.g. Poornima in the US, Vimala in Dubai), or due to father's work commitment (Leela in many African countries). Sometimes moving to another country was based on the participant's family's intention to migrate permanently (e.g. Nafia to the Netherlands). Vimala described her integration experience in the UK by juxtaposing it with her lengthy 'Diaspora existence':

> because I have been away from my country since 1999. So we are within the Diaspora [in Dubai] for a long time, so integration in terms of integration it is not hard.

Interestingly, Dipti, who had lived in various countries, including the US for nearly a decade, before moving to the UK, gave voice to the perception of having more affinity with those who have had similar international or shared cosmopolitan living experiences, as she believed, 'they think more similarly to me'. In the early 20th century, Park had already observed the internal operational mechanisms of 'cosmopolitan groups'. However, according to him, the ease of bonding and bridging with persons from the same group did not emanate from similar ways of thinking, but rather from

> a superficial uniformity, a homogeneity in manners and fashion, associated with relatively profound differences in individual opinions, sentiments, and beliefs… so far as it makes each individual look like every other – no matter how different under the skin – homogeneity mobilises the individual man. It removes the taboo, permits the individual to move in strange groups, and thus facilitates new and adventurous contacts (1914: 607-608).

This was echoed in Fareeda's narrative of her simplified understanding of integration as learning 'mannerisms', such as 'saying hundred times sorry'.

Certain professions could also allow the participants to gain deeper insight into ways of life that were remarkably different or even alien from their own. For example, in India a doctor (e.g. Gauri, or the dentist Madhuri) who attended so-called rural camps on a volunteer basis to provide free medical help, mainly for people from native tribes that normally never consulted doctors, could get acquainted with such people's cultures, even if to a limited

degree. Darshana recounted similar awareness when as a medical journalist she became involved in the work of mobile ophthalmologist units reaching out to remote rural areas. Fareeda, a broadcast journalist, also had first-hand experience of life in diverse parts of India that she obtained through reporting from those places. Development of cultural awareness through exposure to a diverse patient population has been acknowledged in the literature (see, for example, Victoroff et al. 2013 regarding dental students). Not surprisingly, exposure to difference through work could be experienced in the UK, as well. Poornima, a Hindi teacher at a UK university, described this phenomenon in the following way:

> I'm working in a department where each and every person is from different country because of a lot of languages are taught there, so it's a multicultural department. So there I never found that I'm in, like, Britain so it's like a small world. So it was not too difficult to be integrated over there.

A more negative experience was that of Sitara, who acted as a police translator for a long time and thus encountered various instances of exploitation of vulnerable women within the South Asian community in the UK. Paradoxically, pursuing certain professions, including some of those already considered (such as being a doctor), could also have an opposite effect. For example, such a fact could increase detachment from members of the host community, by for example moving solely in close-knit profession-based Indian/South Asian social groups, which was also highlighted by Asha, whose husband worked as a consultant in a British hospital.

Not only relocation for education, but the circumstances of education could also serve as a source of exposure to diversity and difference. As discussed later in this chapter, many of the interviewees attended such boarding schools (often convent schools) where they 'were [also] exposed to all sorts of, various nationalities' (Shashi). Dipti attributed much of her ease at adapting to different circumstances to her boarding school experience when she explained, 'I think that comes from boarding school because at the age of 11 I was exposed to different types of children'. For Fareeda, university education provided the same experience of diversity. She said,

> in the MCRC [Mass Communication Research Centre of Jamia Milia University], because in mass communication, I mean their aim is to take if there are 32 students in the class, their aim was to take at least 32 different people from… in terms of geographical background to economic background to religious, whatever, identity. So I have classmates from all over India and that is very, very special, really.

Her apprehension reflected Johnson and Lollar's (2002) argument, according to which exposure to racial and ethnic diversity within a college environment had beneficial and significant effects on students' rate of cultural awareness (for a similar statement regarding pre-college education cf. Bowman and Denson 2012). As education could unmistakably inform one's way of thinking, and thus understanding of integration in home and host contexts, the next section will be solely devoted to the subject.

6.3 Exposure to English/British Culture through Education in India

Education, especially primary and secondary school education, emerged as a substantial influence on how participants perceived the concept and the process of integration in the UK. Arguably, education is one of the most influential of social institutions in one's life, with the possibility of causing deep-rooted and enduring impacts on life's many facets. For the interviewees, Indian school education provided skills that proved to be particularly useful for their UK existence. This section will examine first the nature of the schools the participants had attended. At this point, the link between social status and education will be briefly considered. This will be followed by a description of the practical knowledge gained at such institutions, which was deemed pivotal for integrating in the UK, with special regard to knowledge of English language. To conclude, this section will explore when exposure to English/British culture actually began.

6.3.1 Education in India

> In India that is very important that your school children go to good schools. (Darshana)

Most of the participants attended private schools. These ranged from day-schools to boarding schools, and many were faith schools, Catholic convent schools run by Irish nuns or British Protestant schools. Most of these schools had a long-standing history, established for the 'Anglo-Indians' (as Asha called them), i.e. those Brits who had lived in India in the colonial era, and also those who chose to stay permanently in India. For example, as Ravleen came from a family with a military background, she became a pupil of a prestigious boarding school founded centuries ago by the British military for the children of their staff. Since both her father and grandfather had attended the same school, going there for her was an

expression of following a family tradition. Although the interviewees predominantly benefited from private schooling, this trend can by no means be considered as representative in India. According to Annamalai's statistical data (2005: 26-27), Indian schools with English as the medium of instruction, and thus considered elite, accounted for only 10% of all schools and provided education for the upper classes. The bonuses derived from the described private schooling therefore were strongly entwined with the financial privileges of some families, and as such can be attributed to the intricate interplay of class, caste and social standing. This was in line with Darshana's observation, who reported that only a select elite could have afforded to send their children to private schools at the time of her youth. She described,

> [T]hose days [in the 1960s] there were very few private schools and only very rich people could send their children to them and we were not rich at that time, we lost quite a bit, we didn't have much money, so [I] just studied [in] that government schools, free schools.

Mandeep also agreed with the idea that to go to private schools, one needed to come from the higher financial echelons of society, '[Y]ou need to be … the status is like higher in the private schools'. It was acknowledged that educating children in private institutions was a type of 'class-based family practice' (Carlson et al. 2016: 2), which generated, *inter alia*, social dissimilarities (e.g. Vincent and Ball 2007).

The participants were conscious of the financial sacrifices of their families and seemed to be grateful for their parents' (usually fathers') sacrifices to permit them a socially more advantaged schooling. 'My dad worked hard and he made sure we all got good education. Other children went to free school, while we went to private school', said Navdeep. Gurpreet's story was similar:

> Respondent: He [my father] gave us good education, he gave me good education.
> Interviewer: Did you go to private education?
> Respondent: All the time. All my brother and sister, we are three, my brother was in India he graduated in a private college and everything. When he came here, dad paid his Master's fees.

Nevertheless, apart from their names, these schools on average could not boast of British, or even foreign staff or pupils. Thus, barring maybe some older participants whose education was closer in time to Independence (late 1940s), the interviewees had no real exposure to British or foreign staff or children. The by now retired Lakshmi explained, she went to a

boarding school where ‘there were a mix of teachers, lots of Irish teachers then, [but] I am talking about long time back’. As a contrast, people of younger generations such as Navdeep, Mandeep, and Ravleen met only Indian teachers in these institutions. Although Dipti was among the younger participants, her example could be seen as an exception. She attended an international boarding school in India with a special teaching ethos emphasising variety and acceptance, and with the continuous presence of at least a handful of non-Indian teachers and students. Notwithstanding the lack of true contacts with native Brits, for most participants, these institutions still played an important, probably decisive role in their future life. Such schools’ most prized advantage, as perceived unanimously by the participants, was English language as the medium of instruction.

6.3.2 English Language Knowledge

English as the main or sole language of teaching in specific, private or elite schools could be viewed as a remnant of the Anglicist education policy of the colonial era. The Anglicist view emphasised the need to educate a select Indian elite in English, who would later be able to mediate between colonisers and the Indian population as they understood ‘European knowledge and values’ and the needs of the colonisers (Annamalai 2005: 21-22). As Annamalai pointed out further, McCully contended that educating people in English in the same subjects taught in England had the aim to make them ultimately ‘more English than Hindus’ (1966: 72). On the other hand, teaching in English could also reflect a more pragmatic approach in current Indian education policy, and act as means for a ‘kind of cultural integration in the globalised world, which puts a premium on what is called a global culture but which is heavily drawn from Western cultural values’ (Annamalai 2005: 31). Further, English language is widely perceived as a conduit of power in India, mainly in the official, economic and educational fields, and as such is highly valued by society (Mohanty 2006). Moreover, it has state- and country-level political functions, as well (Mohanty 2006). Mohanty also drew our attention to the important societal power that such schools could confer, and the fact that institutions with teaching in English had been proliferating in India. In particular, numerous English-medium schools had been established to offer affordable education for people of lower financial standing, which consequently led to the erosion of the quality of teaching. The research participants appeared to have been educated in institutions situated at the more expensive, more prestigious end of the private school continuum.

Having attended such schools, most interviewees had a constant English language exposure

from a fairly young age (for an account of the effects of long-term immersion in a cultural and linguistic environment, see, for instance, Baker 1993). Asha explained that they were brought up bilingual, as there was the 'same level of education for two languages at the same time'. This led them to consider English not as a foreign language but increasingly as their primary language, as evidenced by Lakshmi's comment: 'for me English is not a foreign language because I was taught in the language'. Further, English was employed to the detriment of Hindi or other language(s) spoken in the specific State where the school was situated. This relegated the State language to the significantly weaker and often optional second or third language position. Navdeep explained this phenomenon by saying that 'it was a private school, English medium, so I learned Hindi and Punjabi as a [second and third] language', although Punjabi was the main language of her home. This reflected the so-called 'three-language formula' official Indian linguistic policy, even though it was applicable only at government sponsored, i.e. not private schools (Mohanty 2006), and it remained an influential approach in the Indian education system in general. As per the formula, subjects are taught in three languages, in English, Hindi and the national language of the State of the school. However, there can be wide disparities in the ranking of the taught languages, and the years from which these languages are taught (Aggarwal 1988). Sushila, a native Sindhi speaker, also recounted that English was her very first school language, and Hindi and Marathi were taught as second or third languages, where Marathi, the language of the state in which she lived, remained optional. Surprisingly enough, this led her to opt out from learning Marathi and choosing French instead, as she presumed she would have better GCSE results in French.

> English was the main base on which subjects were taught, sciences, Maths, everything was in English and then you have separate subjects of Hindi, Hindi was compulsory so we had to train in Hindi and Marathi because you are in Maharashtra. So Hindi is a national Indian language and Marathi was a Maharashtrian component. In secondary school year eight, you get a choice to choose between French or Marathi; so you get a foreign language to choose. And the only reason I think I remember I chose it was, my spelling, I used to make a lot of spelling mistakes in Marathi and that used to bring my scores down, so I thought maybe French if I would score higher, my GSCE or that scores will be a bit better overall. Then I was right, I think I scored 70% plus in French which I could never [have] achieve[d] in Marathi. (Sushila)

Soraya pointed out a phenomenon that is not particularly well-known. Certain groups of people in India had English as their main language, speaking English at home or mixing English with a local language. She explained that coming from a middle class and possibly financially affluent Parsi family, her first and 'dominant' language was 'very firmly

English'.

> [B]eing a middle class Parsi household myself I grew up with my first language being very firmly English. In fact, Gujarati I spoke playing in the playground with kids but in the house it was kind of Gujarati English, always switching between the two, you don't know what but you just end up to speak English. So English was very much a dominant language for me.

This seemed to be in line with Annamalai's view that English had a new, distinct, class-integrating role as a 'cross-linguistic symbol of the identity and solidarity' of the economically more prosperous classes (2005: 31). This fact was supported by Manjula's remark on English being 'almost' the first language of some middle classes in countries like India (alluding to former British colonies). When discussing her own experience of living in the UK in the 1970s, she even appeared to be sarcastic about the ignorance of Brits that English acted as primary language for many Indians.

> So that is a question that I was asked a lot in the seventies. How do you speak such good English? And I had always spoken good English because it is almost the first language of some middle classes in countries like India. (Manjula)

Hence, pre-migration studies conducted in English and the associated belief and often fact of mastering the language lent most participants a strong feeling of (at least linguistic) confidence. However, upon their arrival in the UK, many were surprised to find that their spoken English sounded different from the one spoken by Brits they met, as many participants believed, 'everyone spoke the Queen's English, which is very proper English' (Ravleen). Asha remembered,

> I think the biggest shock was we couldn't understand the accent. … But that was totally different from how we were taught. So I would say that we had a music teacher who was from Scotland so we were used to Scottish accent and I remember a woman from Wales, so we understood that accent. … But Liverpool was another story, really.

Through her personal experience, Radha disclosed how she was made aware in a sugar-coated way of the 'fault' in her English, that is, her accent. First, from misunderstanding people initially she went on to grasp the true meanings behind words, which provoked a fierce reaction in her. She recounted,

> this old English man would sometimes look at me and say oh you speak so softly till I realised that that was the stupidest, dumbest thing to say because I haven't understood a word

> you have said because you have talked in Indian English, darling. That would happen pretty often in [name of town in the UK], oh you speak so softly and at first I thought it was a compliment then I realised no, you have an Indian English. So these things come in various ways and you learn to either ignore them or, being me, you just take them head on, I will repeat it, I am sorry if you haven't understood.

Notwithstanding minor differences in accents, English language knowledge is an empowering tool, particularly when living in a predominantly English-speaking country such as the UK. This fact was acknowledged by the recent government-commissioned and heavily-criticised Casey Review, which stated, 'English language is a common denominator and a strong enabler of integration' (2006: 14). An even more recent policy document, the APPG Report on Social Integration (2017), elicited further public discussion on integration. In relation to English knowledge, it suggested migrants should be encouraged to learn English even prior to their arrival to the UK, as knowing the main language of the host country constituted a particularly important 'practical aspect of living in a new country' (p. 10). Learning English should not be imposed as an obligation on migrants, although the reality compels non-EEA family migrants to learn English to pass a pre-entry English language test, for which a certain level of English knowledge is necessary. Nevertheless, participants agreed about its exceptional usefulness for life in the UK. For them, English language was seen as a paramount tool for understanding, and a carrier of elements of the main culture. As Bhavi put it,

> [t]he language I think, if you are going to come to a different country, the first thing that will help your life to sort of ease yourself into the culture, is the language.

When reflecting on the necessity to learn other languages, Gauri went as far as to exclaim that since for native English speakers there was no pressing need to learn any another language, 'probably they have lost that kind of appreciation, or how to appreciate that the language is the culture, or the language is the main thing for any culture'. It is important not to conflate the practicality of knowing the language before arrival with the increasing political trend to push back national borders by requiring pre-entry language and civic knowledge from potential immigrants. Although some of the latest policy documents on integration, such as the Casey Review (2016) and the APPG Report (2016), saw pre-entry English language knowledge as a powerful conduit for integration in the host country, these ideas however should not be used to justify the government's securitised immigration policies under the guise of integration policies, and to divert attention from the need for a

'collective, consistent and persistent' (Casey Review 2016: 148) political will to develop and implement post-entry integration policies at the central national level.

6.3.3 Further Perceived Advantages of Education in India

Education cannot be reduced to language learning. For instance, the Anglo-oriented syllabi of the schools attended provided the interviewees with the opportunity to become acquainted with English literature well before their arrival in the UK. Sitara listed with pride, 'I have read Wordsworth, Shakespeare, Byron, Oscar Wilde, Somerset Maugham'. In a comment regarding expectations towards Brits, Fareeda said of her previous knowledge of England, probably grounded in her formal education: 'I was in a Victorian age. I was thinking of Pride and Prejudice, these things. I was looking for men who were […] like Dickens'. Others, such as Amala or Jyoti, gained Indian degrees in literature which included English literature.

Furthermore, Indian literature and philosophy have never been hermetically sealed from ideological influences coming from other areas of the world. Vice versa, ideas emerging in the Indian subcontinent have also served as inspiration in places far away. As there has been communication and continuous exchange of ideas across countries, regions, and continents from very early ages on, Western philosophical thought has begun to permeate Indian intellectual currents, and thus become available at least to a certain degree to the well-educated. Amala described how as a doctoral student in Hindi literature, she could not ignore the most influential Western intellectual ideas of the 20th century,

> because after the Independence [1947] there was so much influence coming from the Western world in terms of philosophy, I think we were just influenced by like existentialism that was going on in France and also the literary attributes of like, the state of consciousness was coming from English literature.

Thus, she gained exposure to key ideas and paradigms influencing English and European literature while still living in India.

Also, some of the participants narrated how education acted as value transmitter. Although none of the interviewees were Christians, the schools they attended promoted Christian values and celebrated traditions grounded in Christianity. These were not only accepted by the interviewees but, as they pointed out, having been immersed in such upbringing

contributed to their smoother transition into mainstream British culture shaped by the same traditions.

Boarding school life, which covered the bulk of a pupil's year, was generally felt as if living in a *quasi* English/British culture. In contrast, holidays spent at home with the family, which were markedly shorter, imparted experience of Indian life. Asha talked about the sentiment of living in two cultures, Indian and British, although the British one was not truly perceived as such.

> In a sense it was like what it is to live in two cultures, so during holidays you are in India. … During school…. It wasn't entirely British I would say … but I felt I knew a lot about British. … Actually plays or literature and everything.

The skills and competences acquired in the schools attended have been referred to as 'intercultural capital' (Pöllmann 2013) or 'transnational cultural capital' (Carlson et al. 2016) in the literature. They normally encompass dispositions and mind frames such as openness towards and acceptance of foreign cultures, tastes, or interests in the foreign culture; and, in a more concrete and embodied form, foreign language knowledge or intercultural adeptness (Carlson et al. 2016: 2-4). All of these increasingly facilitated navigating foreign cultural environments for the interviewees.

6.3.4 Exposure to English/British Culture – When Did It All Begin?

After having examined the facets of Indian education that could have influenced the participants' understandings of integration in the UK, the following question emerged: when exactly did exposure to English or British culture in fact begin for them? Also, could (supposed) exposure to a culture commence before setting foot in the 'culture-holder' country? Does culture unfold within geographical spaces delineated and delimited by nation state boundaries?

It appeared that for the participants, this specific group of highly educated migrant women, exposure to British/English culture could have begun well before their arrival in Britain. Since the participants repeatedly used the notions British and English interchangeably, at least in this context, this thesis will similarly refer to them as interchangeable. Studying English literature that inherently gave access to part of English culture, and also Western philosophical movements, getting to know Judeo-Christian traditions and values in an

English speaking and writing environment, equipped them with useful grounding for their future life in Britain. However, the level of exposure, and the impact such exposure made on them certainly varied from person to person. Nevertheless, their education armed them with a certain degree of acquaintance with and immersion in English/British culture, and a good level of both written and spoken English, despite the lack of physical exposure to British people.

Also, in a shrinking world connected by information technology, obstacles to the spread of information have been increasingly diminishing, and cultures become ever more interlinked (McEwan and Sobre-Denton 2011). In this phenomenon of cultural globalisation (Tomlinson 1999), information emanating from certain geographical spaces such as Britain or other English-speaking countries is broadcast through different media outlets only to be intercepted basically anywhere in the world, from big cities to remote areas, depending on availability of information technology. This enhances people's chances to gain insight into another culture without physical mobility, without the necessity to leave one's own country or even one's own house. For instance, Arundhati recounted that she learned about numerous cultural and social practices of the Anglo world by watching British and American programmes, which, she contended, had fundamentally affected her mind frame:

> … my holidays were pretty much in front of TV watching BBC World Service, or Friends or something. So I grew up watching a culture where people are individuals and not part of a family or a society. To me that was really important.

However, obtaining information and knowledge of another culture by following news programmes, sitcoms or other 'cultural transmitter' programmes, is not necessarily straightforward. Accessing these programmes is an individual's personal choice, and is based on the interaction of various factors such as taste, ambitions, perseverance, free time, etc. In contrast, education is a general societal structure with various levels of compulsoriness. Even though participants attended different schools, most of these still had a British-based syllabus, they instructed pupils in English, and celebrated Anglo-Christian traditions. This made it possible for the participants to display a feeling of familiarity and a belief that they knew English/British culture relatively well. Asha commented on this phenomenon, 'because you had been, you can say, subjected to another [English/British] culture from an early age, you grasp a lot about that', or as Madhuri put it, 'that is how you get trained, in a very English way, ... [S]o, I kind of knew what to expect [in England]'.

From the above, it appeared, exposure to cultures can be disjointed both spatially and temporally from areas delineated and delimited by the borders of 'culture-holder' states. As Lavie and Swedenburg posited, 'old certainties', such as 'confidence in this permanent join between a particular culture and a stable terrain' are 'increasingly wearing thin' (1996). Culture does not only spill over borders (cf. Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Kearney 1994) but evolves in dissimilar ways in its many distinct receptive environments. The dominant discourses in migration studies usually conceptualise culture-crossing as international mobility from one nation-state to another (Anthias 2011), although newer studies have begun focusing on other forms of cultural border transcendence as well, such as attending virtual spaces, prior to moving to another society (e.g. Sobre-Denton 2011). The participants' example shows that cultural border crossing can also happen while remaining physically static, non-mobile, hence without physically crossing nation-state borders. Further, 'activation' of cultural skills and knowledge acquired through education and media broadcasts may not necessarily require physical crossing of international borders either. Thus, the phenomenon described renders methodological nationalism, as the still pervading ideological framework for integration in mainstream political discourses in the UK, questionable. The assumption that English/British culture, traditions, values, etc. were entirely novel to the participants when they arrived to Britain, and that they had been introduced to the norms, values, and traditions of such culture only from the beginning of their stay in the UK, is in general not tenable. Their recounted pre-migration awareness of English/British culture has most probably left consequential traces on the participants' understandings of integration.

6.4 Pre-Migration Class Position

Class was not a selection criterion when the research sample was designed (although class status could have been anticipated as tertiary education (high cultural capital) was among the selection criteria of the interviewees). Nevertheless, inadvertently and fortunately, participants turned out to be in general of higher classes, or more precisely of 'comfortable' middle class (middle-middle and upper-middle) and even higher class standing. Class position significantly impacts on a person's life chances and way of thinking, and in most instances, paves the way to an individual's future prosperity. Certain factors could be linked to the participants' understandings of integration, such as, for instance, having a good education or being able to travel at a younger age (when exposure to diversity is even more strongly felt), and these circumstances are greatly informed by the economic capital of the family. To gain a more nuanced understanding of what might have shaped the interviewees'

future mind-sets and experiences, it seemed essential to have a closer look at their class position. Determining class in general, and also in a specific, Indian context, was not without its difficulties (see the next Section 6.4.1 below). Similarly, attributing class positions to individuals and their families could be challenging. In fact, a certain reluctance to identify personally with a specific class position was perceived among the participants, which attitude was pointed out by Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2001) under the notions 'class ambivalence' or 'defensiveness'. In this study, the class positions assigned to the participants were based solely on their own self-assessment about their personal class affiliation. Only the class position of the 'original' Indian family, i.e. the pre-migration family, was explored. Post-migration class position (which might be relevant) was not examined, nor compared to pre-migration class standing due to time and scope constraints. Although the participants' castes had in most cases not been explicitly revealed in the interviews, exploring the concept of caste in an Indian context is unavoidable. This must be done to gain a deeper understanding, particularly in relation to the way the idea of middle class is constructed, the privileges linked originally to caste but transcending to class, as well as the interviewees' self-classification (please see section 2.4 above for a brief description of caste in India, and section 2.5 for a short investigation of the nexus between caste and class in an Indian context).

This section will focus on the participants' interpretations of class in general, and the class position of their individual/family in particular (for the importance of using an analytical optic which is expanded to incorporate the wider family instead of solely focusing on the individual, see Kelly 2012). Through their attempts at self-classification, some ideas around major markers of class will be discussed, in particular the relationship between class and financial/economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984), in an Indian context. The section will conclude by discussing social mobility and shifting temporalities of class in India.

6.4.1 Defining Class

As mentioned in Section 2.4 above on Class and Caste, defining class is complicated. Scholarly literature is divided about this issue. Many argue that class is the 'recognition of unequal distribution of resources' (Tyler 2015: 499), as the most widespread class classifications are based on socioeconomic standing defined by income/wealth (Weber 1978), further refined by education and occupation (cultural capital and labour market embeddedness). As such, class does not only act as a descriptive label but governs

individuals' or families' (Kelly 2012) actions in an 'operative' way (Waterton 2003: 113). Certainly, social inequalities cannot only be perceived through the lens of class. Until the previous decade, there had been strong attempts in the social sciences, particularly in the UK, to turn away from the concept of class (Tyler 2013). However, recognition of the value of the concept has been gaining ground, as it constitutes a useful tool for gauging how socioeconomic disparities play out in societies scarred by deep political, social and cultural divisions (Savage 2016). Besides top-to-bottom or macro-level class descriptions and analyses of class, it is essential to remain at the 'subject level of analysis' (Parreñas 2001: 30) by exploring class in the manner it is viewed and understood by the participants themselves, as well (Kelly 2012). Also, according adequate recognition to subjective perceptions of class has far-reaching theoretical reverberations, as 'structures [such as class] are still understood as constitutive and limiting/enabling factors in shaping subjects (who are not simply autonomous agents)' (Kelly 2012: 162).

Elucidating *class,* however, proved to be particularly demanding for the participants. The concept of class cannot be entirely equated with understandings of class playing out in western environments (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007), although the participants have been living in the UK for some time. The notion of 'pre-migration' class therefore has been specifically imbued with an Indian context-specific conceptualisation. Also, as class is strongly contingent on the historical and socio-economic aspects of the time in relation which the concept is used, shifting temporalities of class had to be considered as well, as class might have had different meanings for older and younger participants, especially with respect to 'pre-1990' or 'post-1990' contexts, as this latter could be influenced by the new policies of economic liberalisation and related discourses. 'Old' and 'new' middle classes thus have distinct meanings; moreover, the 'new' middle class (cf. Mathur 2010) has also been undergoing constant transformation.

In addition, in an Indian context, the concept of *caste* dominates everyday socio-economic self-classification. Caste embodies historically a most deeply ingrained, ascribed (Bhatt et al. 2010; Vaid 2014) socio-religious power hierarchy configuration pervading the majority of Indian Hindu, and to some extent Muslim and Christian societies (a more accurate, although still brief description of caste and its nexus with class can be found in Sections 2.4 and 2.5 above). Also, as Maliekal (1980) described, caste also functions as 'a status symbol, which safeguards political and economic interests' (Hagendoorn and Henke 1991: 251). It is not surprising that many of the interviewees found it problematic to situate themselves without ambiguity in the class system, while most felt at ease when asked to do the same in terms of caste. The vague and oft-misunderstood foundations of class were invoked by Darshana:

> people talk about classes but they … really don't know what classes are. … people talk about class, thinking that we are the superior class, so we are the upper class while they are not. And some people call themselves middle class, nobody calls themselves lower class.

Radha equated caste with class when she pointed out that 'in India we always say caste but actually in India what we have is class'. It is an interesting remark from an interviewee who has both a deep understanding of ancient Indian history, as well as a seeming familiarity with public debates about class in the UK, following several decades of life in the UK. The literature often considers the caste-class link in a sense as if there was a vector between the two concepts, pointing from caste towards class, as if to mirror the direction of evolution. Sharma (1999) considered caste as a form of rigid class that imputed social position for the life-span of the individual or the extended family. Caste and class affiliations both cognitively and materially overlapped (cf. Sheth 1999 about what he called classisation). Caste and class identities, however, remained distinct, albeit often simultaneous but in different spaces of life. Generally speaking, the higher the caste, the greater its capacity to generate and maintain financial, social and cultural advantages (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007; Desai and Kulkarni 2008), as well as aspirations to these (Sheth 1999). Shashi pronounced caste as a door-opener, since

> being a Brahmin, the upper caste, helps you to belong to the upper class also because you get education and all that become opportunities and you will have more connections … So to belong to the upper caste helps to open doors, which is more difficult for other castes.

The link between upper caste and cultural capital, especially in the form of education, has also been identified by scholars (e.g. Fuller and Narasimhan 2007 for a description on workers of the new economy's IT sector). Also, some time ago Caplan (1987) had already recognised that there had been a conscious approach to acquiring the best of education among the upper castes, which in its turn would secure superior labour market rewards. Education, thus, has been generally viewed as the tool for upward social mobility, and in particular for women (Vaid 2016) or for certain lower caste groups whose members can avail themselves of the social rectificatory system of reservations in the educational sector to overcome their long-standing socio-economic disadvantages (as described in Section 2.4 above).

Despite the strength of the concept of caste as a privilege-producing and sustaining force in India even now, the focus of this section remains on class. The principal reason for that is

that class constitutes a common socio-economic denominator in most societies, and thus can be applied both to Indian and British societal contexts (although, as already mentioned, with highly distinct meanings), as opposed to caste (which is popularly believed to be an Indian formation; however for critiques of this, cf. Weber 1958). Also, class forms one of the most distinguished and powerful social classificatory tools in sociology from the subject's inception.

For Savage (2000), identification with class position is based on actions, and narratives associated with such actions. This delineation was complemented by Reay (2005: 912), who posited that not only actions, but also the way of thinking and feeling about such actions and practices had the ability to shape class identities. As already mentioned, some interviewees did not find it particularly challenging to define their class status, although most of them struggled with exact classification. For instance, when enumerating what might constitute the essence of their class standings, both Gurpreet and Shashi positioned themselves in the rank of upper-middle class, based, however, on different circumstances, as if certain class positions were more easily mapped out than others. For example, '[u]pper-middle are very rich people' (Lakshmi), or 'upper class means only [a] few hundred families' (Poornima). Both descriptions established individual class standings predominantly based on wealth or 'economic standing' (Weber 1958), which could be embodied and thus become detectable in practice (Savage 2000). Also, there was a strong sense of disidentification from what one is *not*, which could equally form the basis for class subjectivities (Tyler 2015). Self-identification with a specific class (a major element of what Sheth (1999) called classisation), and the distancing of a person from other classes is a constitutive power of the concept of class. For instance, the 1996 survey by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies on the Indian middle class, as recounted by Sheth (1999), also used the tool of disidentification from the working class as a subjective lens for assessing membership in the middle class. Overall, perceived class situatedness was constructed around various, at times competing, categorising dimensions, which are examined in this section. Categories of capital employed in this section, such as economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, are borrowed from Bourdieu's (1984) seminal social stratification model (for a more detailed description of the Bourdieusian capital system, please see section 2.4.6 above).

(i) Class and Economic/Financial Capital

In line with the subject-specific literature, the most uncomplicated perceptions of class emphasised its (solely) finance-related essence. Amala bluntly put it,

> I think in India also people go by how much money you have; in India people are generally, everything is down to how much money you have, which is sad.

Or, as Sheth lamented, the most important consideration nowadays was identifying the means of acquiring a 'good income' (Sheth 1999: 2504). As Weber (2009[1946]) already described, social power could stem from various resources, which created not only inter-class but also intra-class fractures. A deep-rooted caesura lay between capital acquired mainly from inherited land as opposed to salary or business, as noted by some interviewees. For example, for Shashi, true wealth was chiefly linked to land ownership:

> [m]y mother's side, my grandfather was a magistrate, but then he had left the job and became an accountant in the army. From my mother's side they were not very, very rich people but from my father's side they were quite well off and had lands in the villages and a lot of property that they could live comfortably off. So I will put them upper-middle class.

It is apparent from the said Indian survey of 1996 that the most dominant part, i.e. the upper middle class was still composed of upper castes and 'dominant' castes (Srinivas 1955); this latter term is used to describe the wealthy rural land-owner families (Sridharam 2004). It is visible from Shashi's account above that caste standing and class position are conflated (Stroope 2013), although for the dominant farmer caste referred to, economic position is directly linked to caste status, which in its turn plays out in class frameworks. In a work on social domination, Bourdieu (1996) recognised the partitioning power of inherited resources as opposed to gained assets. However, in India caste's nature as a hereditary occupational stratifying power renders upper castes and higher class basically interchangeable notions in terms of their economic statuses. In a recent study on the structure of the upper class, Flemmen (2012: 1053-54) concluded that it was the source of capital which was cardinal to comprehend class relations, and not the amount or physical representation of the economic capital. This approach was shared by Vimala, who also saw the origin of resources as genitor of distinctions between lower or higher social standings.

> I come from a very, very middle-class family because my father was an army officer. So, it is a professional class, which is largely dependent upon … a salary, not land. (Vimala)

Interestingly, younger participants embraced a more permissive approach regarding the link between source of wealth and class. This is in line with recent reconceptualization of the middle class (or 'new' middle class), with its more pronounced culture of consumption

(Corbridge and Harriss 2000; Deshpande 2003; Fernandes 2000) and, to some extent, belief in meritocracy. Gurpreet (who is also from the younger generation among the participants) interpreted her higher-class status in terms of financial resources emanating from her father's prosperous business, i.e. through income from work. She described the family as

> upper middle because my father is a businessman there, we had everything what we needed. We have our own home in the city, which you can't afford here [in the UK] for 30-40 years of your life, … we have bikes to use at home, he [the father] gave us good education…

She listed many of the assets and other possessions that featured among the markers of middle class in the aforementioned 1996 survey, such as owning a home in the city (which is probably a 'pucca' home), a motorbike, and having good education reaching up to tertiary level (Sheth 1999). Also, as a younger participant with more recent understandings of how the Indian middle class is generally perceived, her father's assumed social position as a businessman in a consumption-based economy may have naturally informed her self-classification as a member of the middle class. The similarly young Madhuri also attributed her family's class status to work-related income. Her father's career changed from being 'just a teacher in a college' (which could have been enough after Independence to be considered as part of the 'old' middle class, albeit of its lower echelons) to getting 'into other ventures and property business' in the last decades, through which 'he got a little bit of money, so we had lived a lavish life, bigger house and everything. That means we have moved on to upper class.' Besides ensuring quality private school education, investing in property is viewed as one of the most conspicuous aspects of the new phenomenon of middle class consumerism (Lakha 1999). From her account, the dualism of serving consumerism through her father's occupation, and being a consumer in a society defined by consumerism (through ownership of a more spacious dwelling) can be seen. Work-related wealth thus can secure social ascendance. This belief was in line with Devika's stance, who, by securing a well-remunerated job in a media company despite her young age, had elevated the financial standing of her family to notably higher levels, combined with her sibling's earnings. Stronger belief in the power of individual agency might reflect a more universal tendency of a changing attitude among the youth, and possibly more pronouncedly among women. Not incidentally, acquiring jobs outside the home (as already discussed in Section 4.6.1 above) could lead to more independence within Indian society permeated by rigid social conventions. For instance, Harriss posited that work in the IT sector provided many educated women with a 'felt equality with men and a sense of empowerment – or "individual autonomy"' (2003: 333). These cannot be seen as inconsequential, as apart from upward

social mobility through work-related income, it secured them 'bargaining power within their families – particularly over their own marriages' (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007: 140-141).

Unsurprisingly, the type of work was also viewed as generator of social disparities. For example, being a government official certainly did not provide a particularly high-class status; nevertheless it was still highly ranked by some participants, as it was among the traditional 'old' middle class occupations, and possibly by a large portion of Indian society, in particular, as state government jobs could be 'very cushy job; it's a good thing to have that; you have that, and your life is made', as Bhavi explained when talking about her father's work. Her family's seven-generation army affiliation was also viewed by Ravleen as a crucial factor to gain upper-middle or even upper-class status, which occupational status and thus social standing articulated in class notions could be fundamentally informed by the high caste status of the Kshatriyas (warriors or later army officers).

(ii) Class and Cultural Capital

Lakshmi also attributed class position solely to financial status, at least when she began thinking about class. Later, however, she reassessed her hasty initial evaluation by claiming that education and family background were just as decisive factors, if not more. Ravleen, on the other hand, clearly believed in the primacy of education over financial capital when defining class. Thus, cultural capital, mainly in the form of education, could also be seen as a determining element of class status, as maintained by many of the interviewees. Nafia expressed most unquestioningly her belief in the power of education to shape class position, being the drive behind social betterment. She posited, 'I think it [class position] is purely down to education. Educating and the ethos of hard work, isn't it?' Cultural capital, and often human capital (this latter in the form of education, skills and labour market standing) have been highlighted throughout the literature (cf. Sridharan 2004; Deshpande 2003) as primordial factors in the construction of class in India. A longstanding tradition has been identified amongst upper caste parents to consciously pave the educational way of their offspring to secure later well-paid or sought-after jobs (Caplan 1987). Education has been a major tool to overcome gendered and racial or ethnicity-based discrimination, as well, at least in the public sphere. It is a powerful instrument in providing possibilities for upward social mobility for women (Vaid 2016), not only in the public spheres of work but also in the home, in the sense of more bargaining power in relation to their private life and marriage choice (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007). Also, for masses of lower caste individuals, the chance to get education via the reservation policies enhances the fight against social

inequality (Sheth 1999). However, the nature and strength of cultural capital varies enormously depending on the type of education one has received: good or only mediocre, leading to the acquisition of highly valued skills on the labour market such as good English knowledge or not. It has been pointed out that higher castes remained overrepresented in certain higher income sectors of the labour market even today (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007), which fact can be at least partially explained through the possession of better or stronger cultural capital, the acquisition of which naturally rests on the economic power of the family.

Radha defined class as a group of people who

> come from a certain kind of similar educational background, that is what it actually means. So, they would vote in a certain way, they would think of politics in a certain way… I think class in India when I was growing up was more in terms of where you got yourself an education from.

She identifies 'similar education' and 'similar political views' as class (identification) constituting elements, which were also those very factors that allowed for the reconstitution of class for major lower portions of the Indian society. As Sheth (1999) explained, lower castes began to position themselves horizontally along a common political platform that cut across different castes, thus different ethno-cultural backgrounds, and which formed a significant part of the middle class. At the same time, central and state governments also changed their political rhetoric in an attempt to gain electorate support from wider ranges of the population (politicisation of caste, Sheth 1999). Therefore, having similar political views is not necessarily a disposition inspired by caste membership.

Cultural capital, however, is not only significant for middle class (re)production but plays a solid role in upper class solidification, as well, particularly as education is not necessarily the chief driving factor behind ascent into the upper classes, but rather allows one to remain in the upper class (Scott 1997). Also, Radha contended that belief in education as a truly empowering agent might have not only emanated from her 'egalitarian' political beliefs, but more importantly, it may have been influenced by the active practice of state reservation policies regarding the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, which gave many former lower caste individuals the chance to get education. She said,

> education actually gives you the leverage to get out of your own little whatever you have been put into, wherever you are born into, and do something in the world.

Nevertheless, she acknowledged that education without a degree of financial stability, habitually supplied by the family, might not be sufficient, as one cannot live without primary necessities such as food, clothes, and shelter, that were not directly provided by education (as argued by Sridharan 2004 as well).

It was important to note that the interviewees predominantly came from families with high cultural capital to which significant financial capital was not always linked (this was the case for instance of Soraya's family). Participants were usually not amongst the first generation to earn tertiary degrees and some came from families with longer art-related family biographies. For example, Darshana's ancestors were prominent figures in the art world: they counted among them poets, musicians, a painter, and also a chief architect. These types of background lent strong cultural capital to the participants, which was thought to be capable of conferring power in various social settings. People with such backgrounds were viewed as members of the 'old' middle class, where strong economic capital was not necessarily a prerequisite for group membership (e.g. teachers, government officers) (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007).

(iii) Class and Social and Symbolic Capital

When trying to demarcate class, participants sometimes referred to social connections or circles (e.g. Ravleen, Poornima), to respect and reputation, or symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1984) within the community (e.g. Shashi, Poornima). Weber referred to this as a facet of the caste system, as the status of a person that is informed by 'the positive or negative social estimation of honour' (1978: 932). Social capital was clearly seen as an important facet of class standing, although a relatively small number of interviewees described it as an important factor for determining class position. It was not clear why participants had not elaborated on social networks when defining their class status, as the literature considers social capital as an eminent potential source of social control and advantages (Coleman 1993; Portes 1998; 2000), which as such could be closely associated with the concept of class. As to the strength of symbolic capital, evoked by some of the participants, a certain 'class concern' (Sayer 2005) could be observed which manifested for instance in the need for recognition by others, the 'being perceived'-ness (Bourdieu 1984: 483) of the same class.

(iv) Class as Compound Notion

The following quote from Shashi could serve as an example of how class was comprehended as an intricate combination of various considerations.

> I think [class] it's a combination of various factors, it would depend on who sees it. People who are very materialistic they would look at where do they live, and how big your house is. But they [people in general] don't assess you only by your income and your economic status but they would look at other... But I think most people, at least in my time, used to judge you by your education, by your family background, and by your behaviour, by the reputation that you enjoy in society because it was a close-knit community. (Shashi)

Despite the preponderance of voices arguing that class was fundamentally defined along financial lines, many recognised the compound nature of the concept, both in terms of its content and its perception by others. Such was Poornima's understanding of class as a fluid and many-layered concept that was defined by its contextuality encompassing a whole variety of aspects such as finances, caste, profession, education, social circle, or even respect from the community. This perception of class combining subjective and objective elements was highlighted by Bourdieu, as well, who claimed,

> class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption—which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic—as much as by its position in relations of production (even if it is true that the latter governs the former). (1984: 483)

As seen in these narratives, class position was closely associated with being seen and recognised as such. As already mentioned, this phenomenon was referred to as 'class concern' (Sayer 2005). *Vice versa*, class 'recognition and valuation are in part conditional on what people do, how they behave and live' (Sayer 2005: 948), which are grounded in acts and practices of consumption of unequally distributed resources. A peculiar way of seeing oneself as a member of a class was by comparing the family's financial and social standing with the rest of the Indian population. Although Manjula saw their class status as a very modest one, her father would adjudge them as belonging to the upper middle class, considering that '40% in those days [fifty years ago] of the Indian population was below starvation line'. Since then, the intermediate social bracket has been expanding, with a higher percentage of the population escaping life below the starvation line. This also leads to a reconfiguration of what is upper middle class and whether in current notions the family would be considered as an upper middle class one. To summarize, it is argued that the principal classificatory features of class (and caste, still in a very influential manner (Jodhka (2017)) profoundly intertwine and interplay. Nevertheless, the dominance of certain classificatory aspects, such as economic capital, remains more or less undisputed by the

interviewees (cf. Giddens and Sutton 2013: 485, who described class as a predominantly economically based concept; or Weber (1978) for whom class is an 'economically determined' idea).

6.4.2 Social Mobility and Shifting Temporalities of Class Positions

Class position may change over generations, but could also change within a person's lifetime (Giddens and Sutton 2013). Upwards or downwards social mobility had been experienced by many interviewees. However, the number of participants recounting such eventualities was truly remarkable, given the relatively small sample of the research. This is surprising as literature on social mobility tends to depict Indian society as rather fixed with little intergenerational movement in terms of occupation (Deshpande and Palshikar 2008; Vaid 2014; although Giddens and Sutton (2013) argue that developing countries experience a relatively significant rate of social mobility). An example of an intergenerational rise in class position could be Devika's, whose family was a 'very middle-class family, a very humble background', which 'became upper-middle class in the past 5 or 10 years' due to her and her sister's increased income. Madhuri's family also ascended to the rank of upper class, as she defined it, following her father's successful involvement in the booming property market business from 1990 onwards. As a contrast, examples of a drop in social status could be Bhavi's, whose father 'got into debt and life was difficult', or Darshana's, whose painter grandfather recklessly spent the family's significant fortune and consequently left nothing to the next generation.

The content of class position could be assessed in different lights at different times. It is attributed to a mixture of circumstances, many of them listed in this section; also, to the general level of a country's economic standing or technological development, etc. For instance, Manjula explained that class could be understood in terms of the lifestyle that one could afford. However, this can and often has been changing over time, and such changes in lifestyle are 'elementary structuring features of stratification' (Giddens 1991: 82). She said that in her youth in the 1970s,

> we did not have a car, we did not own our own flat or our own house and so I would say to my father that I, by those measures, we were probably lower middle class. … I know that today middle classes, to which I belong, the same level of class today in India I think would have at least their own car. This is going back to kind of my childhood [in the 70s].

> Understanding class from that perspective in terms of the lifestyle that you could afford. And that shifted in India itself today.

Due to a generally more 'well-off', visibly consuming (Fernandes 2000) Indian society, the middle class can be defined through ownership of certain assets, as well, as did the already mentioned 1996 survey of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (Sheth 1999). Owning assets was not always a precondition to be a member of the 'old' middle class (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007); however for Bhardan (1994) this old, 'professional' middle class was distinguished by having property as opposed to the lower classes. Social mobility, therefore, could be assessed through its objective aspects, such as scope, direction and people affected by it (Giddens and Sutton 2013: 513). Similarly, it could be determined based on subjective feelings, for instance through satisfaction with one's life (e.g. Marshall and Firth's 1999 study). These two main facets interacted in the participants' narratives to create a subjective, yet relatively objective timeline of their class positions.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter considered some major factors that may have contributed to the participants' understandings of the concept of integration. These factors were (i) exposure to and management of (super-)diversity and difference, (ii) exposure to English/British culture through education in India, including discussion about the role and importance of a high-level knowledge of English prior to arriving to the UK, and finally (iii) pre-migration class position of the participants.

Indian society, like its British counterpart, could be construed as a (super-)diverse one that is crosscut with differences. The two countries' big urban centres, the mega cities (Castells 1996) or global cities (Sassen 1991), form condensed spaces of (super-)diversity and difference. The two countries' and their cities' (super-)diversities and differences, however, are not identical, they are contingent on their historic and contextual realities (Meissner 2015). Despite such differences, this chapter explored the possible impacts of life in such (super-)diverse spaces of difference on the mind frames and coping strategies of the participants, which may have informed their understandings of integration in the UK. In this chapter I argued that exposure to the super-diverse space of the Indian city and the need to navigate it in everyday life may have largely contributed to the acquisition and practice of such mental states, world views, value systems, skills, and behaviours by the participants, that could have later been utilised, at least partially, in other super-diverse contexts of

differences, for instance in Britain, and especially in London. Such mental approaches and practices could be viewed as cosmopolitan, in particular, as cosmopolitanism is thought to be a 'mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238), a way of interacting with (cultural) difference (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). It is acknowledged that the city provides a space where cosmopolitan skills and sensibilities are or can be learned and practiced. For example, Çaglar (2002) considered the shared cosmopolitan city-identity of second-generation Turks in the city of Berlin; Müller (2011) investigated urban cosmopolitanism in the cities of London and Amsterdam; or for Amanda Wise (2016), the city-state of Singapore provided a space where practices of 'vernacular' cosmopolitanism could be explored. As the participants lived in a city in their home country of India (or in another country) before moving to the UK, this gave them the chance to be equipped with cosmopolitan mental frameworks and practices, which in its turn could enhance harmonious co-existence of differences. These mental frameworks and practices were, at least to a certain extent and in a certain manner, later re-applied in their everyday life in the UK in the forms described under section 5.2.1 (Basic Practical Approaches as Understandings of Integration) above. These cosmopolitan practical approaches both defined and informed their understandings of integration. Therefore, this study contributes to the emerging literature on more empirical forms of cosmopolitanism, which recognises that the concept is contingent on local contexts where such mental frameworks and practices are performed (Müller 2011).

This chapter has investigated and identified that participants' education, especially certain types of primary and secondary school education in India, may have had a fundamental influence on their approaches to integration in the UK. The institutions attended were nearly all private, elite (Annamalai 2005) schools chiefly established in the colonial era, sometimes with a religious affiliation, with English language as their medium of instruction. Attendance could undeniably be interpreted as a 'class-based family practice' (Carlson et al. 2016: 2). On the one hand, the nature of such schools allowed participants to acquire a particularly high level of English language knowledge before their arrival in the UK, which later proved to be extremely useful in terms of their integration in the UK. Several studies (cf. Wessendorf 2015) found that immigrants and refugees integrate more easily in the host country if, among other things, they have access to good quality language training and education in the main language of the country. However, such scholarship predominantly focused on post-migration language acquisition, whilst home country language studies have generally not been given adequate consideration in the literature. This research aimed to call attention to the role of home country schooling, and to pre-migration language acquisition as an aspect of schooling, in relation to post-migration integration practices. The findings of this research regarding language knowledge are in line with recent suggestions as to how

integration policy in the UK should be shaped (Casey Report 2016; APPG Report 2017) and scholarly research on UK integration policies (cf. Papademetriou and Benton 2016: 22) that emphasise the need for a stronger focus on pre-departure linguistic and other skill acquisition that possibly enhances post-migratory integration practices. As policy recommendations requiring pre-entry English language knowledge have aroused media controversy condemning the advocated measures, it is important to distinguish, on the one hand, between English language as facilitator of integration and likely consequential factor impacting individual understandings of integration, and, on the other hand, English language as an integration pre-requisite in some destination countries, mainly in the Global North, that require knowledge of the country's official language, sometimes even before arrival in the country. In this latter sense, it is widely assumed that the language criterion forms an aspect of external border control (e.g. Boujour and Kraler 2015: 1412) in determining who can be admitted into a country and who cannot, who is desirable and who is not (cf. Grillo 2008; Wray 2011). Many contend that language requirement rules do not truly target the integration of immigrants already present in the territory of the destination country; instead, they arguably aim to 'defend the (imagined) homogeneity [of population] and … cultural cohesion' (Schmidt 2011: 260) of the host country. On that account, it is essential to state that the findings of this research should not be used to reinforce control-oriented public policies and discourses around establishing and maintaining certain external border controls in the rhetorical guise of 'integration' requirements.

Further, the specific schools attended, their Western-oriented curricula, their traditions grounded in Judeo-Christian values and beliefs acted as cultural and value transmitters. These enabled participants to gain awareness of English/British culture and Western seminal intellectual thought prior to their relocating to the UK. Such exposure coupled with the everyday use of English language created a sense of familiarity with English/British culture.

Therefore, it appears that exposure to culture, at least to a certain degree and in terms of specific aspects of the culture, can be both spatially and temporally disconnected from the territories of 'culture-holder' states, demarcated by nation-state borders (e.g. Kearney 1994). Such a phenomenon of cultural transnationality is possibly ever more pronounced in an increasingly globalised, information technology-linked world, where nation state borders soften up to permit cultural spill-over, creating a culturally globalised world (Tomlinson 1999). Consequently, the assumption that main values, beliefs and traditions, subsumed under the collective term of culture of the host country society, are entirely novel to all migrants recently arrived in the host country, should be challenged. This can have

consequential influences on how immigrants comprehend the idea of integration in specific host societies.

The third major consideration described in this chapter as possibly significantly impacting the interviewees' understanding of the concept of integration was 'class'. Defining class in general was not unproblematic. To do the same in a specific, Indian context, was similarly challenging, not least as 'caste' still served as a more widespread social classificatory tool. Likewise, associating class positions with individuals and their families could be challenging, even if such attempts were based on self-assessment of the interviewees themselves. The notion of class revolves around societal inequalities, the essence of which could have been captured by using other conceptual categories as well, and in particular caste in an Indian context. Nevertheless, class remains a robust abstraction with the ability to convey useful meanings by way of acting as a performative power in countless life situations (Savage 2016). Lower class standing was normally equated with fewer opportunities in life, maybe a lower level of or lower quality education, in general more difficulties in life, and thus to some extent a (more) vulnerable status. On the other hand, a higher-class status usually implied the opposite. As already stated, most participants came from families of 'comfortable' middle- class status (middle-middle class upwards), which had enabled them to benefit from certain economic, cultural, social and symbolic privileges (Bourdieu 1984), that could be transposed and activated in various social and geographical settings, both before and after migration. Class can also embody processes of producing and reproducing diverse forms of resources, which need to be applied later, for instance in life strategies. Therefore, I contend that the pre-migration class position of the 'original', Indian family (and not solely of the migrating individual (Kelly 2012)) was highly likely to operate as a momentous determinant, structuring integration conceptions and experiences. On this account, it is essential to take class position into consideration when exploring highly educated, higher class migrant women's understandings of integration.

The following Chapter 7 will conclude the thesis.

7 Chapter 7 – Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

Integration, as previously stated in Chapter 2 (Literature Review), is a 'controversial and hotly debated' concept (Castles et al. 2001: 12) with blurred boundaries and content. Some refer to the notion as assimilation, incorporation, acculturation, inclusion, insertion, adaptation, settlement, denizenship, citizenship (Ager and Strang 2004: 32-35), or embedding (Ryan and Mulholland 2015), used as synonyms with emphasis on differing aspects (Castles et al. 2001). Nevertheless, a basic premise in common is that integration is a process beginning with the arrival of immigrants in the host country. Despite its fluidity, different social actors use the notion of integration as if obvious, seemingly without the need to define it. Policy documents and scholarly literature on integration are concerned primarily about the social policy aspect of integration (or rather what policy makers believe the concept is or should be about), the ways it may be achieved, the barriers immigrants encounter during their integration trajectories in their adopted country, and possibly identification of good practices. Research nevertheless rarely examines the notion of integration as an abstraction understood by immigrants (cf. EAVES Report on Settling-In 2015), taking into account the socially constructed and embedded nature of the concept in relation to the varied social realities of the different individual migrants.

The focus of this research was on highly educated *Indian* women migrants. By having chosen India as the participants' country of origin, I purported to highlight the need to explore migration from India to the UK in more depth. In particular, as regarding migrants from the Indian subcontinent, there has been significantly less research on Indian (skilled female) migrants in the UK (except see Raghuram's numerous work), despite their number and labour market integration in the UK (see section 1.2.1 (iii) above), while there has been significantly more research on Pakistani (e.g. Charsley 2005; Evans and Bowlby 2000; Shaw 2014) or Bangladeshi women migrants in the UK (e.g. Kabeer 2002, or see Dale et al. 2002 for a joint study on Bangladeshi and Pakistani women migrants).

Further, this research studied *highly educated* Indian women migrants. In doing so, it deliberately shifted the attention from the concept of *skills* which for a long time had been the prime focus of gendered migration literature, and which was primarily associated with economically valued markers and thus related chiefly to the labour entry route of highly educated migrants (Kofman 2000). By concentrating mainly on the entry stream of labour,

female skilled migrants who had entered through other routes such as family, asylum or student had been largely ignored (Riaño and Baghdadi 2007), and thus their migration trajectories had remained underexplored. Yet, an increasing number of women migrants are highly educated, and a considerable proportion of them arrive to the host countries through routes other than labour, typically as family migrants but also as students, asylum seeker, and later often enter the labour market into highly skilled sectors and occupations. Further, by prioritising the economic aspects and labour market incorporation (in both skilled and unskilled sectors and occupations) of skilled women migrants, other aspects of life in the host country remained to a great extent obscure (Raghuram 2000). In accordance with the above, pre-migration personal histories, life trajectories, socio-cultural, financial and gender-based (Ferrant and Tuccio 2015) inequalities that could have fundamental impact on future life in the host country had also not been given adequate recognition in the literature. For example, being highly educated significantly increases the chances of women to migrate from developing countries (Dumitru 2017). Therefore, this study purports to contribute to the literature on skilled migration of women, in particular as its main focus is on the migrants as opposed to the migration route.

In addition, this research studied a group of highly educated women migrants who have *entered* the UK through *various migratory paths*. This 'mixed' approach has not been particularly common in the scholarly literature (although see Riaño and Baghdadi (2007) on skilled migrant women who had similarly entered through mixed routes), as studies on female migrants have been frequently investigating migrants entering the host country through specific entry routes (e.g. see Raghuram 2008 for Indian labour migrants, and Raghuram 2013 for Indian student migrants).

The main objective of my research was to gain knowledge of how highly educated Indian migrant women construed the vague concept of integration in its empirical groundedness. Instead of looking further and investigating the barriers or challenges to integration, this project, in a sense, constitutes a preliminary study to most studies focusing on integration. In doing so, I believe, this study can contribute to our better understanding of the conceptualisation of integration as perceived by those who (are expected to) integrate. Capturing migrants' voices is highly relevant. Bringing them into the process of knowledge creation by way of collecting their ideas and opinions about integration, and thus recognising them as producers of knowledge, could improve policy making, influence public opinion, and could affect future individual integration experiences. Furthermore, integration is often conceptualised as a 'two-way process' between immigrants and the host country/society, in which immigrants are undoubtedly protagonists, defined by the existing structural

frameworks of the destination society. For that reason, to obtain a balanced understanding of the notion, it is equally important to consider migrants' viewpoints (Erdal 2013), besides policy approaches. In addition, studying understandings of integration of this specific group of migrants does significantly contribute to knowledge on integration. By recognising the formative power of certain pre-migration conditions and factors - and in particular that of class strongly linked with education - on ideas, approaches and meanings of host-country integration is more than a mere scholarly endeavour. Notably, at a higher level, such reflective knowledge could shape integration discourses, and, most importantly, could contribute to more balanced public perceptions on integration. Similarly, it could enhance the development of more nuanced integration policies that were not be predicated on certain assumptions of migrants in general.

Studying approaches to integration of highly educated migrant women is particularly relevant, as there is a growing number of highly educated women migrants among the migrant population of the UK that has not been given adequate attention. Government and mainstream political rhetoric on integration disproportionately focuses on specific, 'problematised' groups of migrants. They are chiefly defined through their religion (Muslim) and ethnic backgrounds, gender (mainly female migrants), lower skill level, little English knowledge, and victimhood within their own families, this latter being chiefly attributed to religious and ethnic community norms and traditions. Migrants thus become equated with the above group of people. Such an official stance on migrants constructs them as a homogeneous group of incomers, overlooking the fact that the country's migrant population is highly diverse and rapidly changing (Guardian 2016). As the Government is increasingly concerned about failed integration of people from certain ethnic and religious backgrounds, the heightened focus on them and their vilification renders highly educated migrant women who are not defined by their religion basically invisible. Also, there is an excessive interest in the literature of lower class migrant women. By focusing on migrants coming from 'comfortable' middle class backgrounds, this study emphasizes the need to consider class, as well, as a fundamental tool to generate social distinction (besides others such as ethnicity, gender, age, etc.) both at times of pre- and post-migration. Class plays a momentous role in framing the types and forms of capital that one possesses, which in their turn can profoundly influence life opportunities in the host country. Further, research on highly-educated migrant women often assumes a sector-specific view in the sense that it focuses overly on domestic work, sex work or other precarious work environments in the lower echelon of jobs, or on the health, education and welfare sector in relation to higher skilled work. The current study's focus is not sector-specific; a wide array of sectors is represented by the participants who came to the UK primarily as family migrants and not as labour migrants.

Therefore, it is a pressing issue to study the chosen group of migrant women, considering that there is an ever stronger presence of highly educated people amongst migrants, and that women constitute more than half of the UK's migrant population (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017). Further, there is an assumption that only the 'problematised' group of migrants have integration related needs. The often active, highly educated women migrants might have fewer difficulties traditionally linked to integration, such as problems emanating from not knowing the main language spoken in the host country. Nevertheless, they may still have integration-related needs, which play out in their ways of integrating and their outcomes. Although the sample of this research is small, the findings still have relevance on a larger scale, as they spotlight aspects of integration of a politically hardly visible, yet significantly increasing, *non-problematic* group of migrants. This research, therefore, seeks to contribute to the literature on integration by accentuating integration-related knowledge about less mediatised but numerous migrants, situated at the intersection of gender, class, ethnicity and educational level. This could ultimately promote the adoption of more balanced integration-related measures in the UK, as well.

Researching understandings of integration of highly educated migrant women is especially pertinent, as although numerous recent studies have assessed how migrants as a wider group understand integration (e.g. Amin 2007 in Rutter 2013; Brubaker et al 2008; Cherti and McNeil 2012; Korac 2003; Rutter et al. 2007; Rutter et al. 2008; Wessendorf 2011), hitherto, not many research projects have considered women migrants' apprehensions of integration (e.g. EAVES Settling In 2015), and more specifically that of highly educated, 'comfortable' middle-class women migrants. The present research attempts to eliminate or, as it is not possible in all cases, at least reduce the geographical and socio-economic heterogeneity of the group studied by selecting women interviewees from the same country, all highly educated, and, as it turned out, nearly all coming from relatively privileged class backgrounds.

Exploring the host country integration- related ideas and practices of migrants who had 'comfortable' middle class backgrounds in their country of origin could be seen as original. The more so as, in official rhetoric, migrants are not defined by their pre-migration class position, despite the fact that migrants themselves often make distinctions based on class status (and, in the case of Indian migrants, caste affiliation) in the home country, as well, and especially those coming from the same country. For instance, according to some Indian migrants that I met, there exists a practice amongst Indian migrants in the UK of changing one's original, revealing surname into another, 'neutral', non-revealing surname to conceal

one's own pre-migration social position (as Indian names often reveal links with traditional occupations or social standings, thus castes). Nevertheless, in the literature on integration, class position is rarely considered (Anthias 1992; or more recently Oliver and O'Reilly 2010), even though class remains a powerful means of social differentiation (Savage 2000; Savage et al. 2013; Skeggs 2004). When it is investigated at all, it is mainly invoked in host country contexts (Anthias 1992; Oliver and O'Reilly 2010), and appears in many cases to be conflated with lower skill levels and vulnerability (e.g. Anderson 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Kilkey et al. 2013; Sassen 2000). This widely used methodological approach accords importance to lower class positions, and thus fails to give adequate attention to 'comfortable' middle or higher class statuses and their impacts on migrants' host country life trajectories. By articulating 'comfortable' middle class migrants' views, this research reveals that irrespective of geographical mobility, class (and caste) as a fundamental social stratificatory tool remains a robust marker of difference besides other markers of distinction such as ethnicity, gender, race (Skeggs 1997), age, etc. As such, class is capable of shaping migrant realities both prior to and after migration. Although the scope of this thesis did not allow for more in-depth consideration of the effect of class position on host country integration practices, I argue that there is a strong need to interrogate both pre- and post-migration class (and caste) statuses in relation to host country integration. However, in transnational contexts, it is not sufficient to compare migrants' location in the home country's social hierarchy with that of the host country's; it is also important to look at the possibility of moving within that hierarchy both in home and host environments, both intra- and inter-generationally (Kelly 2012: 170). Also, after having migrated, home country social positioning, and the perception of it, could change.

It is conspicuous that despite the above-average class and possibly caste positions of the highly educated women participants, which facts in themselves would convey privileges, they still needed to confront strong social constraints, as raised throughout chapter 4 (Understandings of Integration - Emotional Responses) but more particularly in section 4.5 (Feeling Safe and Secure) and 4.6 (Feeling Free and Independent). Although class/caste and education-based privileges could enable 'escape' from public sphere violence, it may not have the same positive effects in relation to private sphere violence, where such violence often remains invisible, and thus unaddressed. This premise was particularly manifest in the cases of Sitara who needed to flee potentially horrendous acts of her family when she got pregnant out of wedlock, and Darshana who (with her children) had to endure constant and intense financial and emotional pressure from her husband before her escape from India. However, other, less harsh forms of private sphere vulnerabilities have also surfaced in the interviews. In this vein, it would be important to consider gender-based discriminatory social

institutions, embodied in formal and informal norms, laws and practices as they often act as both push, and, in the case of their lack, as pull factors to female migration (Ferrant and Tuccio 2015). Especially as they determine 'which decisions and behaviours are acceptable for each gender, as well as restrict[ing] women's access to power and resources' (p. 5; Jütting et al. 2008), including to higher education. The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), developed by the OECD Development Centre, has been a pioneer method to estimate the rate of gendered discriminatory social institutions in 160 non-OECD countries that hinder women's access to social opportunities, power and resources (Cerise et al. 2012; Ferrant and Tuccio 2015: 8). By way of its prime accent on gender-based inequalities in *opportunities* (Ferrant et al. 2014), the SIGI aimed to map the sources of discrimination (Ferrant and Tuccio 2015). It identified the following five main areas of discriminatory social institutions that could impact on women's lives: (i) discriminatory family code, (ii) restricted physical integrity, (iii) son bias, (iv) restricted resources and assets, and (v) restricted civil liberties (SIGI 2014). For India, the SIGI of 2014 recorded a 'high' rate of gendered discriminatory social institution on average, and a 'very high' rate in the 'discriminatory family code' and 'son bias' categories (SIGI 2014). However, the index measures formal rights, such as for instance the minimum age of marriage, rights to divorce, or inheritance rights within the category of 'discriminatory family code'. Thus, it does not focus on informal gendered discriminatory social institutions, such as private sphere violence. As mentioned, many of the interviewees recounted having faced certain gendered discriminatory social institutions in India, despite their class position and their being highly educated. Therefore, to understand more on the nexus of home / host country gendered discriminatory social institutions, in particular in the private sphere, and female migrants' life opportunities, including in relation to their migration trajectories, such topic should be explored in more depth by eventual future research.

Moreover, apart from discussing findings related to highly educated migrant women's understandings of integration, this research identified certain common pre-migration factors that might have shaped participants' understandings of integration. There is a great deal of scholarly research primarily focusing on post-migration factors and circumstances, be they structural or agency-driven, sculpting integration experiences. For instance, there is a significant literature highlighting the role, and often limited transposability of the various types of pre-migration capital, such as economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (based on Bourdieu's (1986) seminal classification) following migration (e.g. Nagel 2005; Erel 2010). Other studies have investigated the role of cosmopolitan approaches for managing (super-)diversities and differences by way of the adoption of mental stances and practical skills and behaviours to enhance peaceful side-by-side living of strangers in global cities

(Sassen 1991), megacities (Castells 1996), or other extremely diverse social settings (for more on this facet of the cosmopolitan literature, please see section 2.5.6 above). Considering different, specifically defined aspects of pre-migration life histories in integration studies is thus not a novel phenomenon although not widely researched (Froschauer 2001; or more recently Nowicka 2014; Crețu 2017). Yet, synchronising such varied stances of the migration and integration literature by granting pre-migration life events and circumstances a much more prominent (Schrauf and Hoffman 2007), and, in some cases, determinative role, can be viewed as innovative. Therefore, I believe that an important contribution of this research lies in spotlighting and recognising the relevance of certain pre-migration life histories, factors, circumstances, attitudinal approaches and practices in relation to post-migration life in the host country (Tartakovsky 2009). For instance, it is important to recognise the role of the cosmopolitan sensibility and practices that participants exhibited in (cities of) the UK, and which may to a great extent be based on cosmopolitan approaches and practices already honed in home (or other) city environments (as discussed in sections 5.2.1 and 6.2.2 for host and home city contexts respectively). In addition, using a more liberating methodological lens that focuses more intensely on home or transit country impacts, allows the usually restricted attention to move away from its main focus, that of the host country. This perspective is significant, since home and transit country experiences generally make deeply engrained, marked impacts on individuals (Tartakovsky 2009). The effects of such experiences could mould approaches to cognitive and practical migration trajectories, and could play out in varied aspects of life in the host country.

As elaborated in Chapter 3 (Methodology) of this thesis, the doctoral research is based on the constructivist ontology that follows the epistemological approach of interpretivism. The in-depth qualitative research comprised a continuous desk-based phase culminating in a literature review, which at the same time informed and guided the empirical phase, and contributed to position the findings of the project in the subject specific literature. A distinct empirical data collection phase was also carried out by conducting open-ended semi-structured interviews with 30 individuals. Using the combined methods of purposive and snowball sampling, interviewees were identified to fit the predetermined social features, such as being born in India, being a woman, and having followed tertiary education. Further specificities, i.e. age, length of stay in the UK, profession/work, and place of living (primarily London) were also of importance; however, the sampling did not always enable identification of people in equal proportions among these categories.

The research study aimed to find answers to the following main research questions:

- How do highly educated migrant women from India conceptualise the notion of integration in the United Kingdom? What are their understandings of integration?

I also aimed to study whether any patterns in understandings of integration became visible that could be linked to age, length of stay in the UK, route of arrival, and profession of the participants.

7.2. Main Findings

In this thesis, understandings of integration are structured in a way to distinguish between (i) certain comprehensions of integration, labelled 'abstract', that are affective conceptions reflecting participants' emotional responses when construing the notion of integration; and (ii) agency-driven comprehensions of integration, concentrating on what is (or should be) done by whom in the immigrant–host society equation, from the perspective of the immigrant participants. It is not argued that integration is or should be understood in an either–or way. For instance, regarding integration solely as a cluster of abstract emotive ideas would risk emptying the concept. Yet, spotlighting the not-too-frequently conceptualised emotive side of integration enriches and fine-tunes our apprehension of the notion, especially as such understandings of integration seem to be immensely meaningful for the participants. It is essential to notice that although the socio-economic aspects of integration can in many instances be measured and contrasted (Papademetriou and Benton 2016: 5), the emotive side of integration remains less tangible. This thesis brings the affective side of integration to the fore by granting equal importance to it alongside other, commonly examined aspects of integration such as political, cultural, social and economic integration. Moreover, by elevating the participants into knowledge creating agents, solid empirical evidence of apprehensions of integration can be obtained, which may eventually shape future integration policies. In addition, the findings of this research aim to highlight that being highly skilled and educated may not necessarily eliminate integration related challenges, which is congruent with Gidley and Jayaweera's (2010) argument based on their research on migrant integration in London. Nevertheless, certain pre-migration conditions, factors and circumstances may profoundly and positively influence practices of integration, and thus understandings of integration.

Although I aimed to explore eventual patterns in understandings of integration that might have emerged and that could have been associated with the participants' age, length of stay

in the UK, route of arrival, and profession, due to the relatively small size of the research sample, and the unequal number of interviewees in the listed analytical categories, patterns in understandings of integration were not always perceptible. Nevertheless, any patterns visible to the researcher were indicated in the respective parts of the thesis.

7.2.1 Understandings of Integration – Abstract, Affective Conceptions Reflecting Emotional Responses

The collected data show that the concept of integration is frequently apprehended by the participants as emotional responses, affective frames of mind linked to their everyday life in the host country. The notion was equated by many interviewees with a condition where they felt 'this is [was] home', where they believed they were part of something, where they felt comfortable, safe and secure, and, at the same time, free and independent. These univocally voiced feelings asserting stability and thus reflecting a desire for stasis in immigrants' lives are lived at the level of the individual, yet, cannot be disconnected from their specific wider social context. It could be contended that the emotional acknowledgements identified constitute *states of mind* rather than *processes*, while the prevailing narratives formulate integration predominantly as process(es). Although these abstract ideas testify to a relative stasis, pure stasis can never be reached, as affective responses to integration are created and recreated through the process of integration. In this respect, *stasis* should not be comprehended as the dialectic opposite of *process* but more of its dichotomal counterpart, where one presupposes, and at the same time structures the other. In this study, I argue that it is essential to acknowledge and give adequate weight to such distinct conceptualisations of integration, integration being a set of static and desired emotive responses to living in a host country, besides construing it as process(es). Interpreting integration in this manner, I contend, recognises basic human emotional needs, endeavours and aspirations in their adopted settings, and avoids overlooking affective approaches to social life (Papademetriou and Benton 2016: 2).

It is argued that the described emotive interpretations of integration are, to a great extent, universal in their scope, however with limitations. Who would not want to feel at home somewhere? Who would not want to feel comfortable in its social reality? Who would not want to feel part of social groups, in harmony with their identity, safe and secure, or free and independent? Most human beings embrace such emotional mind-sets, irrespective of class, gender, age, ethnicity, level of education, language knowledge, etc. It is striking to observe that the affective approaches identified may not be linked to mobility either, as they appear

to be applicable to stationary, non-migrating persons as well. Nevertheless, these postulations should not be interpreted as detached from their social, geographical and historical contexts; on the contrary, it is hugely important to embed them in their respective environments. Also, it is conspicuous that many of the emotional responses articulated as understandings of integration are highly gendered. For instance, the feeling of being secure can be fundamental for a woman who may have experienced (at least the threat of) gendered physical or psychological abuse. Similarly, being independent as the main attribute of integration may be connected to previously endured gendered social expectations and practices. Therefore, the seemingly universalist approach to understandings of integration should be assessed with serious caveats, especially in terms of gender.

At this point, it is pertinent to reflect about the concept of vulnerability in relation to the participants. Vulnerability is a recurrent adjective used in relation to lower-skilled women in migration studies (e.g. Morokvasic 1984; Anderson 2000; Parrenas 2001), or sometimes women in general, for instance, in forced migration studies (cf. description of the nexus between gender and forced migration by Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2014). I do not contend that the highly educated, highly skilled women interviewed are not vulnerable. However, I believe vulnerability, in a broad, general sense of the concept, could neither be applicable to them, nor might they want to be perceived as such. Yet, their recollections testify that they may and, in cases, do or did experience vulnerability in various specific situations in both home and host countries. Vulnerability is thus situational for them; as an example, their understanding of integration as 'being safe and secure' could be grounded in encountered vulnerabilities. Further research would be required to gauge the sites and extent of vulnerability of the participants that they might have experienced prior to and following their migration to the UK, which falls outside the scope of this research. Also, the term *victim* should not be used as a proxy for *vulnerable*. Current political discourses on integration have appropriated the term 'victim' only to use it in a peculiar way, to reinforce disapproval of traditional attitudes towards women of certain religious and ethnic minorities. Condemning such behaviour in the frame of integration discourses gives the impression that the migrant population, as a whole, embraces such 'backward', 'non-British' values and practices. The migrant population is thus seen as a homogeneous, hard-to-integrate block within the native populace. Instrumentalising women victims for negative political purposes is destructive. It shifts the attention from gendered social inequalities to violence confined mainly to the domestic sphere, and thus leaves such whole societal-level issues unattended. Also, such discourse renders a great number of migrant women, who cannot be seen as victims *per se*, invisible. I therefore argue that it is important to explore the concept of vulnerability instead of victimhood in relation to highly educated women migrants, as well, in relation to both

public and private spheres. By doing so, it is essential to move away from the category of *general vulnerability.* Instead, the individual cases should rather be observed through a *situational vulnerability* lens. This latter highlights specific life situations of integration that may generate vulnerability, instead of linking vulnerability directly with gender and/or lower skills. Therefore, there is a great need to explore the situational vulnerability of the highly skilled/educated women migrants in greater depth; this however falls outside the scope of this research.

7.2.2 Understandings of Integration – Agency-Driven Approach

Chapter 5 of the thesis focused on agency-driven understandings of integration. It investigated the frequently voiced claim that 'integration is a two-way street' by looking at which social actor, i.e. migrant and/or host society, was expected to do what on the path of integration, in the judgment of the migrant women interviewed.

Participants agreed that certain mental frameworks and steps such as 'communication', 'interaction', 'understanding', and 'learning' chiefly contributed to enhancing their process of integration. Interactions and communications with locals brought about understanding; understanding informed learning, which in its turn allowed for further interactions with the host society. The recounted attitudes and practices could be viewed as cosmopolitan, in particular, as cosmopolitanism is thought to be a 'mode of managing meaning' (Hannerz 1990: 238), a way of interacting with (cultural) difference (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Participants 'understood' that cultural and ethical differences and diversities co-existed in their everyday life in the British host cities (especially in London) and that such differences and diversities needed to be managed (Beck and Sznaider 2006). The interviews revealed that this was done through assuming cosmopolitan mental frameworks and practices, which manifested themselves mainly in 'communication/interaction', 'understanding' and 'learning'.

This research contributes to the emerging, but still small, literature on practised forms of cosmopolitanism, usually described under the notion of 'ordinary' (e.g. Lamont and Aksartova 2002), 'everyday' (Nowicka and Rovisco 2012; Zeng 2014) or 'vernacular' (Radford 2016; Wise 2016) cosmopolitanism. They highlight the investigation of 'grounded', more empirical forms of cosmopolitanism which usually play out at the micro-level of everyday life in the city. My research explored the interviewees' everyday cosmopolitan practices in the UK or more precisely in British cities. I argue that the

exhibited cosmopolitan approach and practices could to a great extent be attributed to the fact that participants came from big cities of their home (or other) country before migrating to London or other cities in the UK. It is likely that cosmopolitanism, in this sense, could have been practised in urban contexts even before migrating to the UK. Also, such cosmopolitan practices and empirical mental approaches were later re-applied (accordingly) to mitigate cultural (and other) difference encountered in the host country, as recounted by the interviewees. This could contribute to 'smoother' integration in the host country cities (Crețu 2017), and could inform the participants' understandings of integration.

Participants reported certain behavioural and attitudinal changes as by-products of such everyday cognitive circles. These were mainly described as 'accepting', 'adjusting', 'adapting', 'adopting', and 'getting used to'. These 'mental foundations', which could be understood as forms of *acculturation*, or cultural integration, formed the backdrop of the participants' behavioural integration. Whilst Phillimore (2012) argued that integration could be considered as 'a possible dimension of the acculturation process', the findings of this research suggest that the process of acculturation forms a considerable part of integration. Interviewees embraced the above behavioural changes in a way that was mainly in accordance with their already existing values and beliefs, and only to the extent and over a period of time they felt comfortable with. It is noticeable that major values that have often been construed in mainstream political discourses as 'British' (see 5.2.2 (iii) of this thesis) had already been interiorised by most participants prior to moving to Britain. Thus, acculturative changes, if any, were not regarded as imposed and thus unacceptable, but had been pragmatically embraced. For instance, fine-tuning their behaviour by adopting everyday local 'mannerisms' (Fareeda) was seen by many as helpful, albeit in a 'pick and mix' manner, by moulding the existing conduct. Therefore, it appears, participants accentuated behavioural changes usually linked to acculturation when verbalising understandings of integration. It is, however, not clear why they chose to highlight processes of acculturation rather than structural factors in integration, which have been widely acknowledged to be highly influential in integration processes (e.g. Ager and Strang 2008; Korac 2001), particularly as by focusing principally on acculturation, major social power relations may be overlooked (Klusmeyer 2001: 528; Sakamoto 2007). Possibly this could be attributed to the fact that these participants would have encountered fewer structural barriers. Nevertheless, the potential of social structures to shape individual realities was touched upon by most interviewees. This, however, was done in a descriptive way, by enumerating examples of host country experiences, struggles, and successes, as opposed to ideas that could have been equated with understandings of integration.

In terms of integration as a two-way process, a certain disjuncture can be observed between, on the one hand, current mainstream political discourses (cf. integration-related observations articulated in the Casey Report 2016) and participants' lived experiences, and, on the other hand, approaches to integration. The ideal of integration as a two-way street has, from time to time, been reinforced at higher echelons of the political sphere in the UK. A good example of this could be the statement of the recent Interim Report into Integration of Immigrants commissioned by the All Party Parliamentary Group advancing that 'the government should recognise that integration is a two-way street, requiring the involvement of both newcomers and host communities' (2017: 5). Nevertheless, the wording of the document clearly suggests that such an approach has not yet been recognised. The similarly recent, government commissioned 'Casey Report' (2016) asserts that Britain's multicultural attitude to ethnic minority integration has led to segregation of communities and parallel lives, the findings of which report purportedly provided evidence for its author, Dame Louise Casey, to declare, 'I don't think it's [integration] a two-way street. I think that's a *sound-bite* that people like to say' (BBC News 2017). These influential political outputs remind us of the fragile nature of the widely echoed 'two-way street' idea of integration. Also, integration was not perceived by the participants as a two-way process either, despite their deep belief in the ideal of a two-way street integration in both moral and cognitive senses. Instead, they all observed that immigrants have been increasingly seen, both by themselves and in major political narratives, as agents responsible for integrating. Many stated that the burden of integration, or the 'homework' of integrating (Rutter et al. 2007: 99) rested with them, findings that continue to be in agreement with previous research outcomes (cf. Ager and Strang 2004: 9 on refugee integration). As to the role of the host society, interviewees believed there was no need for it to demonstrate substantial integratory practices towards immigrants, even if the participant migrants would have welcomed more active and inclusive stances taken by the host society. This research found that a distinction was made between requirements and expectations in relation to integration, based on the actors concerned: *requirements*, reflecting mandatory actions, were perceived as attributes of acts to be performed by immigrants; while *expectations* of the host society remained in most cases at the level of wishes. Furthermore, the strength of expectations differs according to whether the host society is viewed as a political unit, or a community of people. It is conspicuous that the listed expectations of the host society as a political unit remain primarily at the level of abstraction, without the emphatic articulation of wished-for specific actions. Nevertheless, participants viewed certain integration-related practices as necessitating active involvement on both sides of the integration equation, i.e. by both host society and migrants. In this thesis, these were distilled under the labels of 'tolerance' and 'harmony for peaceful cohabitation'. Although in principle these acts would fall on both host society and migrants,

in practice, a certain mismatch was maintained in terms of their level of intensity depending on the concerned party, where participants perceived that the onus of integration-related interactions fell more heavily on them, and significantly less on the host society. As immigrants claimed membership in the new social setting of the host society, pressures on them to 'make an effort' were seen by many interviewees as undisputed. Other ideas equated with integration, such as 'having a clear, fair and set system' and 'safe and secure environment', are configurations that substantially exist in Britain, and which have not been specifically set up to target the immigrant population. Hence, these expectations lose much of their function as integration-related expectations.

In line with the premise that integration is a process where immigrants are not only expected but required to perform more than the host society (as the Casey Review's author put it, 'there is more give on one side and more take on the other' (*Independent* 2017)), participants acknowledged and valued the increased role of self-responsibility in relation to integration. The neo-liberal conceptualisation of self-responsibility is nested in individualisation. One of its basic tenets is a belief in the formative power of individual agency against mere acceptance of the structural 'given'. Based on such belief, individuals are responsible for exercising agency, making decisions, acting based on such decisions, and taking responsibility for their decisions (Beck 1992). Participants outlined the role of self-responsibility both in abstract and more concrete terms. In abstract terms, integration was not so much seen as a 'two-way process' but rather as mental approaches and acts incumbent on migrants. More specifically, self-responsibility was apparent from non-reliance on (mainly structural) host society integratory interventions, despite their availability. It is worth noting that a heightened level of self-responsibility is particularly well-received in societies of the global North, where state welfare has been increasingly trimmed, and thus action is expected from individuals to counter possible dependence on social welfare. Self-responsibility is also encouraged by institutionalised integration measures, such as civic integration tests, applicable in major immigrant destination countries (De Leeuw and van Wichelen 2012). At this point, it is essential to reiterate that the interviewed participants had reasonably stable financial backgrounds coupled with sufficient and relatively easily mobilised social and cultural capital, which differentiated them from the majority of immigrants. It is most probable that such conditions played a notable role in their integration-related approaches, including their expectations vis-à-vis the host society, or self-responsibility. In light of the social standing, level of self-reliance, and flexibility in approaches to integration of the highly educated migrant women participants, it is more than disturbing that the mainstream political discourse on immigration still ignores such groups. It does so through a fixation on origin and ethnicity, which are unalterable qualities, instead of giving credit to the migrants'

agency, which is a force of change. Also, there is a tendency in policy approaches to focus on the 'problematic'.

The thesis does not discuss the highly important role of immigrants' social capital in relation to their integration in the host country. In line with a large number of relevant studies, it is understood that both pre- and post-migration social capital and networks could and do play a prominent role in the integration practices of migrants (see the literature review on the nexus of social network, social capital and integration by Kindler et al. 2015). However, social capital was not advanced by the participants as an issue *directly* related to their understandings of integration as a purely abstract concept, even if, as already discussed, abstraction in this matter is strongly informed by everyday integration practices. Participants' social networks were discussed, albeit briefly, during the interviews. This nevertheless was mainly due to prompting by the researcher, although the lack of more detailed discussion of social networks does not mean that they were insignificant.

7.2.3 Pre-Migration Factors Possibly Impacting Understandings of Integration

The factors and circumstances examined in Chapter 6 on 'Major Factors Possibly Impacting Understandings of Integration' study some selected considerations in the interviewed immigrants' lives that occurred *prior* to their moving to the UK, and which have most probably materially shaped their way of thinking about the notion of integration in the host country. These are: (i) exposure to (super-)diversity and difference, the role of the City, and practised cosmopolitanism, (ii) education in India as a means to gain exposure to English/British culture; and (iii) pre-migration class position.

The investigated major themes are not only significant in terms of the participants' integration history. I contend that giving adequate weight to the elaborated factors and circumstances contributes to the existing literature, as they advance a different approach to most integration-related research outputs and theories that primarily consider post-migratory integration histories, i.e. factors and circumstances of integration when already residing in the host country.

Also, the approach followed in this research takes a different stance from a growing number of studies examining pre-migration capital used in post-migration times by not focusing on *capital* per se, including its acquisition and (challenges in) transposability (cf. Erel 2010), but on specific pre-migration factors and circumstances. It is acknowledged that some

aspects of the pre-migration factors and circumstances discussed may indeed be considered as and subsumed under the different types of capital, as classified by Bourdieu and widely used in migration studies. Yet, not all aspects. I posit that the factors and circumstances described that already existed before migration form *assets* (or capital, although in the broad sense of the term) to migrants after migration in terms of integration practices, and that these assets most probably impact on their understandings of integration.

In addition, and importantly, the present study enriches the literature on 'grounded' cosmopolitanism (e.g. Skrbis et al. 2004; Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Young et al. 2010) through an empirical study shedding light on possible links between previously exhibited cosmopolitan approaches and practices in home city contexts, and the same performed following migration in host city contexts. More precisely, it is argued that cosmopolitan approaches and practices that have been learned and practiced in home city environments could be 'leveraged' and practised in host city environments, as well, albeit to a certain extent and in certain ways. Such practised cosmopolitanism could be equated with integration, as was understood by the participants of this research.

Furthermore, I argue that there is a need to challenge the common and simplified usage of the home country–host country dichotomy in the migration literature, even in relation to integration in the host country. In this frame, it is essential to explore migration histories *within* the home country, i.e. home country internal or intra-country migration that could have taken place prior to moving to the host country. Although forced migration studies widely discuss and study intra-country, internal migration of people, usually under the label internal displacement (Mooney 2005), this is mainly within the framework of forced or involuntary migration (Kälin 2014), 'in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters' (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement 1998, Introduction, para. 2). There has been significantly less focus in the migration literature on intra-home country movements of people that have not been caused directly by such external factors, and their possible implications for individuals' lives both before and after migration. This research sheds light on the fact that internal, intra-country movements or mobilities that are not forced can have similarly significant consequences for one's life as international movements, and can also impact on future, international mobilities of individuals and the way they navigate such circumstances.

It is equally important to give adequate weight to *initial* migration locations and journeys, and to investigate life experiences and their impacts in more depth at such places. These

locales could be seen as transit migration arenas from the perspective of the final migration location. However, the use of the term transit migration may not be appropriate for such cases, even if the term does not have a single, accepted definition (Düvell 2012). Moreover, the concept of transit migration is highly politicised, has negative overtones, and is linked to irregular migration and related organised crime (Düvell 2012). Nevertheless, for the individual, transit migration and transit locations are usually momentous, and can form a consequential part of migration journeys. In a recent study, Crawley et al. (2016) scrutinised cross-Mediterranean migratory movements of individuals and noted the relevance of transit country experiences in migration histories when discussing cases of transit stay in Libya. Rather longer stays in such places are discussed in greater detail in the literature on secondary migration when studying the initial migration location, or on-migration (de Haas 2007). Often, periods in different host countries are viewed as separate migration tracks (Düvell 2012). No matter what concept we use to describe such a stage in one's migration life, it is essential to recognise their heightened importance, as these can have significant consequences for individuals' final host country integration, as well. The relevance of experiences in the first host country was also voiced by some of the participants (see Dipti's and Nafia's recollections in Chapter 4). It is interesting to observe that the time spent in the first host country was not meant to be temporary for the participants, either from the perspective of the home country, or from that very country. Both Dipti and Nafia spent more than a decade in their "transit" locales, which is a particularly long time. Their cases could serve as examples of the relativity and fluidity of the apparently stable concepts of *home* and *host* countries. Such categories are relational, with varying meanings and modus operandi at the various levels of their use. Moreover, relationality is simultaneous. A place can be seen at the same time as the home country for the individual migrant, even if the person has already left the place (as in the case of Dipti who moved to the UK from New York), and a host or transit country for others (such as researchers). This research calls for the need to give more importance to migration trajectories and experiences in between the home and the current host countries. In doing so, the robustness of certain basic categories used in migration studies is bound to be challenged, and application of such categories in less assumptive ways is suggested (Raghuram 2017).

(i) Exposure to (Super-)diversity and Difference, Role of the City and Cosmopolitanism

There is considerable literature on superdiverse (Vertovec 2007) host countries/cities, mainly in the global North (e.g. Meissner 2012). However, superdiversity in relation to home/transit countries/cities that are often situated in the global South has not been considered with equal

depth. Further, the home country superdiversity and host country integration nexus has not been adequately researched. This research argues that a more expanded theoretical slant is needed when investigating integration. It is imperative to study not only superdiversities of host countries/cities but also those of home countries/cities and transit countries/cities in relation to their potential impact on migrant integration in the host country. This is even more pressing, as much of the literature focuses on superdiverse geographical spaces located in the global North, whilst overlooking a growing number of superdiverse locales in the global South that have been becoming more important in both local and global scales.

Aspects of Indian society, as in Britain, could be construed as (super)diverse crosscut with differences. The two countries' big urban centres, mega/global cities (with the UK this is mainly applicable to London), form condensed spaces of (super-)diversities and differences. However, these (super-)diversities and differences are not identical, their distinctiveness is construed and may be understood chiefly against historical and contextual (Meissner 2015) backdrops. As an example, a great number of people in India are actively multilingual (Mohanty 2006), and geographically and, to a lesser extent, socially mobile (D'Mello and Sahay 2007). These facts were also mentioned by many of the participants. For many Indians, (super)diversity and difference is the norm, it is the unquestionable, the backdrop to everyday life. By living in bigger urban locales, both before and(/or) after migration, participants have not only been exposed to (super)diversities and differences, but also become used to them, and, consequently, become confident and comfortable navigating new, highly diverse environments. Exposure and embeddedness in (super)diversities enhances the possibility to assume certain coping skills and mental frames which facilitate dealing with difference. Such mental approaches and practices can be viewed as cosmopolitan. These cosmopolitan stances can be particularly useful when moving into other highly diverse spaces of differences, such as London or other cities of the UK. Also, as participants pointed out, exceedingly diverse social contexts with profound differences could be encountered in non-urban settings, as well, which can be experienced, for instance, in relation to a profession, such as being a doctor with intermittent visits to Indian rural areas deprived of health services. Also, frequently changing places of residence and numerous travels, both in-country and abroad, could produce opportunities for heightened exposure to (super)diversity and difference. These instances, thus, could have left their mark on how the interviewed immigrants navigated new cultural and social environments, how they interacted with others, what their emotional approaches to their adopted societies were, and also, how they conceptualised their understandings of integration in the host country.

(ii) Exposure to British/English Culture Through Primary and Secondary School Education in India

Chapter 6 on 'Major Factors Possibly Impacting Understandings of Integration' investigated the participants' primary and secondary school education in India. It is argued that the schooling received may have had a fundamental influence on interviewees' understandings of integration in the UK. The mainly private, 'elite' (Annamalai 2005) institutions attended were predominantly founded in the colonial era, they were usually of religious affiliation, with English language as their medium of instruction. These schools allowed participants to acquire a particularly high level of English knowledge prior to their arrival in the UK, which admittedly proved to be extremely useful in everyday lived social practices in the UK. Several studies (e.g. Wessendorf 2015) found that immigrants and refugees integrate more easily in a host country if, among other things, they have access to good quality language training and education in the main language of the country. However, such scholarship predominantly prioritised post-migration language acquisition, whilst home country language studies have generally not been given adequate consideration in the literature. This research calls attention to the role of home country schooling, and to pre-migration language acquisition, as an aspect of schooling, in relation to post-migration integration practices.

The findings of this research regarding language knowledge share the rationale behind recent integration policy suggestions for the UK (Casey Report 2016; APPG Report 2017), independent reports (cf. Murray 2017), and scholarly viewpoints on UK integration policies (cf. Papademetriou and Benton 2016: 22). These emphasise the need for a stronger focus on pre-departure linguistic and other skill acquisition that possibly enhances post-migratory integration practices. As policy recommendations requiring pre-entry English language knowledge have aroused media controversy condemning the advocated measures, it is important to distinguish, on the one hand, between English language as facilitator of integration and likely consequential factor impacting individual integration understandings, and, on the other hand, English language as integration pre-requisite in some destination countries, mainly in the Global North, that require knowledge of the country's official language, sometimes even before arrival in the country. In this latter sense, it is widely supposed that the language requirement forms an aspect of external border control (e.g. Boujour and Kraler 2015: 1412) in determining who can be admitted into a country and who cannot, who is desirable and who is not (cf. Grillo 2008; Wray 2011). Many contend that language requirement rules do not truly target the integration of immigrants already present in the destination country; instead, they arguably aim to 'defend the (imagined) homogeneity [of population] and … cultural cohesion' (Schmidt 2011: 260) of the host country. On that

account, it is essential to assert that the findings of this research are not suggested to be used to reinforce control-oriented government policies and discourses around establishing and maintaining external border controls in the rhetorical guise of 'integration' requirements.

It emerged from the participants' recollections that the schools attended may have influenced their apprehensions of integration in the UK due to other factors, as well. These institutions' Western-oriented curricula, furthermore, their frequent celebrations, beliefs and traditions, primarily grounded in Judeo-Christian values, acted as cultural and value filters and transmitters. In this frame, schools functioned as environments where interviewees could gain awareness of and a profound sense of familiarity with mainstream English/British culture and Western seminal intellectual thought, even before migrating to the UK. At this point, I contend that it appears exposure to culture, at least to a certain degree and in terms of particular facets of culture, can be spatially and temporally disconnected from the territories of 'culture-holder' states, demarcated by state borders (e.g. Kearney 1994). Such a phenomenon of cultural transnationality may be ever more pronounced in a world increasingly linked by information technology, that dilutes nation state borders, thus permitting cultural spill-over in a culturally globalised world (Tomlinson 1999).

Consequently, the assumption that main host country values, beliefs and traditions (subsumed under the collective term of culture of the host country) are novel to recently arrived immigrants must be challenged. Nevertheless, in the case of India, it is important to take note of the strong British heritage grounded in colonialism. Such a heritage is to a considerable extent, still present, both materially and institutionally, at various societal levels. This could also contribute to the participants' sense of familiarity with British culture following migration. Thus, the cultural exposure described could have consequential influences on how migrants comprehended the idea of integration in the UK.

(iii) Pre-migration Class Position

The pre-migration class position of the family while living in India was explored in Chapter 6 on 'Major Factors Possibly Impacting Understandings of Integration' as the third major consideration most probably shaping interviewees' apprehensions of integration. For the purpose of the research, I have used the classificatory tool of 'class', despite the concept's ambiguity and weightiness. Aspects of the notion of class could have been captured with the use of other conceptual categories, as well, e.g. through 'caste' especially in an Indian context. Nevertheless, class remains a robust abstraction with the ability to convey useful meanings by way of acting as a performative power in countless life situations (Savage

2016). Another major reason for deciding to use the term 'class' instead of 'caste' is that despite its contextually shaped content, class is a socio-economic denominator that can be more smoothly applied to both Indian and British social environments, albeit with contingently differing and temporally shifting meanings (Fuller and Narasimhan 2007; Ravallion 2010), which enhances understanding.

The implications of original, home country class position on host country integration practices have been rarely considered. Migrants in the host country are not usually defined in official rhetoric by their pre-migration class position, although in practice migrants are highly aware of the social standing of other fellow migrants from their country, as was also recounted by some of the interviewees. Instead, the category of migrants is politically construed in relation to their usefulness to the host country (Wray 2009). Academic literature also does not accord adequate significance to pre-migration class standing, despite a renewed interest in class in the social sciences (Savage et al. 2013). When class is considered, the primary focus remains on host country contexts, where the concept of class seems to be meshed with lower skill levels and vulnerability (e.g. Anderson 2000; Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003; Kilkey et al. 2013; Sassen 2000). By applying this methodological lens, lower class position and the many repercussions of such standing appear to be worthier of research, and, consequently, higher class (including 'comfortable' middle class) positions have not been given adequate attention (although for research on middle-class Pakistani women migrants see Evans and Bowlby 2000; on transnational class identity of Filipina migrants see Kelly 2012; or on Polish skilled migrants who could also be defined by way of their cultural capital and their social class see Nowicka 2014). By foregrounding integration-related perspectives of migrants within the range of the 'comfortable' middle class, this research underlines the significance of class in migration studies as both implicit and explicit manifestations of difference. Class can shape migrant realities before and after migration. Therefore, even though the scope of this research project did not allow for the deeper investigation of the effect of class on host country integration, pre- and post-migration class standings including more subjective self-identifications, especially in relation to the 'neglected' higher-class positions, should be studied more closely.

Also, there is an implicit assumption in the literature that migrants generally move primarily for (financial) betterment (Halfacree 1995). Yet, it can be perceived that, in particular, in the case of 'comfortable' middle class migrants, financial betterment may not be the motive for migrating. Instead, other considerations, such as professional advancement or further studies, could well play decisive roles in migration decisions. This is conspicuous in the case of Dipti who moved to the UK from the United States to pursue post-graduate studies at a prestigious

UK higher education institution. Examples showcased in this thesis, therefore, call for reconsideration of the widely held implicit surmise that migration is basically for financial betterment. Furthermore, it is important to be mindful that married women migrants often do not make individual migration decisions (Mincer 1978). Instead, they usually concede to family demands and prioritise based on the interest of their whole nuclear family, which in practice is often linked to their husband's career and/or earnings (Cooke 2003; Nivalainen 2004), and/or to their children (Orellana et al. 2001). As some participants explained, this practice often jeopardised their own professional advancement (also found by Boyle et al. (2001) studying the impact of family migration on women's employment status in the UK and the US). However, a growing number of studies highlight that migration should not be solely seen in the frame of decreased labour market employability of women (Bonney and Love 1991). Migration may provide women with opportunities outside the scope of the labour market (Raghuram 2004), for instance regarding parenting (Green 1997) or other aspects that could positively affect the quality of life (Raghuram 2004). This research tentatively observes that the class position of married, highly educated women migrants may not act as a primary factor in migration decisions. Nevertheless, as Raghuram (2005) and Bélanger and Rahman (2013) pointed out, migration can well be a way to overcome class divisions *within* the family. However, further research would be needed to map the intricate tissue of class implications on migration decisions and migration outcomes.

The study inquired about the class positions of the interviewees' (extended) families when they were still living in India, i.e. in general prior to their migrating to the UK, to gain knowledge about the extent to which pre-migration life opportunities could have informed integration practices, and thus understandings of integration in the adopted society. To attempt to avoid the slippery task of class classification, class position was self-assessed by the participants (in doing so, self-classification still remained highly subjective). It became clear that the meaning of class varied from participant to participant; perceived class position might be construed around various, at times competing, categorising dimensions that were frequently based on wealth, cultural standing, generational and geographical positions, and implicitly but most importantly on caste status. For instance, interviewees predominantly equated class with economic capital (e.g. Amala, Gurpreet), yet, different sources of finances, i.e. wealth or income, may not convey the same weight in terms of class positioning, which also invokes changing temporalities in class construction. In line with the literature, younger participants who have mainly grown up in a more market-oriented, conspicuously consumerist Indian society accord more relevance to income, which can be seen as a personal distinction and is thus linked to individual agency, over inherited wealth that is a given (e.g. Madhuri, Devika), although structures (such as class) are to a great extent

still perceived as major factors defining, i.e. allowing and constraining, social subjects in juxtaposition of their agency (Kelly 2012). Nevertheless, their stronger belief in the power of agency over structure may reflect a more universal tendency of changing attitudes among Indian youth, and possibly more markedly among women with more opportunities in social life, although further research should confirm such postulations. Not incidentally, women getting jobs outside the home enhances gender-based empowerment (Harriss 2003). Other participants truly believed in the determining power of cultural capital, and in particular education, however mostly if coupled with economic capital (e.g. Lakshmi, Ravleen). Overall, despite the preponderance of voices arguing for class being fundamentally defined along economic or cultural lines, many acknowledge the fluid nature of the concept, both in terms of substance and perception by others (Bourdieu 1984). In addition, inter- and intra-generational (Giddens and Sutton 2013) temporalities of class positions similarly need to be considered, which are evidenced through upwards or downwards social mobility, thereby making it even more challenging to classify participants by class.

Class does not only act as a descriptive label but governs a person's individual agency in an 'operative' way (Waterton 2003: 113). A high level of financial, cultural and/or social capital permits a certain lifestyle, shapes ways of thinking, and provides for opportunities that would have been difficult to obtain in the absence of such backgrounds. Class position, therefore, significantly impacts on individual life chances, and in most instances, paves the way to a person's future prosperity, both in material and non-material forms. Although migrating to another country can often cause disruptions in use of accumulated capital, especially in terms of its transferability (cf. Erel 2010 when critiquing the 'rucksack approach' of cultural capital transmission), pre-migration capital can still serve as a powerful base to build on in the destination country. This can be observed, for instance, through the example of the participants' Indian education (as described in more detail in Chapter 6 on 'Major Factors Possibly Impacting Understandings of Integration'). Although one of the main criteria for selection of interviewees was a high level of education, as it turned out, most participants came from families of higher class status, i.e. middle-middle class upwards, which allowed me to consider 'capital' as a possible factor influencing comprehensions of integration. In the light of the above, I contend that it is essential to recognise the formative power of pre-migration class position and class history, not only in terms of pre-migration life opportunities, but also as a conceptual tool impacting on integratory practices, hence most probably moulding individual comprehensions of integration in the host country.

It is important to reflect on possible links of class and cosmopolitanism in an Indian context. It is essential to be mindful that different competing and contested forms of Indian cosmopolitanism exist (Jeffery et al. 2011; Gilbertson 2016). Historically, the elite Indian upper classes (which often overlapped with the upper castes) had strived to display cosmopolitan, trans-regional (as opposed to local, see e.g. Chatterjee 2009) attitudes and practices. For example, in premodern India, much of the aristocracy and the elites embraced certain Sanskritic/Brahmanic cosmopolitan cultural modes of expression that were related to courtly, hence highly refined circles (Chatterjee 2009: 170). This type of cosmopolitanism acted as 'a form of political consciousness and culture [as a] celebration of aesthetic power', and 'was characterized by a largely homogeneous language of political poetry along with a range of comparable political-cultural practices' (Pollock 2006: 14; 19). Similarly, as Chatterjee (2009: 148-150) described, a Persianised form of cosmopolitanism also flourished later in the Mughal era in North India. Its courtly culture was thought to be sophisticated, exuded morality and virtue (Elias and Jephcott 1994), which were qualities that elites who lived away from central courts aimed to interiorise.

More recently, cosmopolitanism has become appealing (and affordable) to the more prosperous layers of the new Indian middle classes, as well. It appears that cosmopolitanism, for many, is not solely a 'genuine or authentic engagement [*per se*] with difference, and a practice and a consciousness with a global outlook' that Binnie and Holloway (2003: 4) captured as cornerstones of the concept. As Brosius argues, it functions more as a covert class-conscious discourse of the new middle classes in India whose aim is to maintain social hierarchies through distancing 'global' (i.e. cosmopolitan) mental approaches, attitudes and practices associated (advanced, 'us') from the local (backward, 'them'; 2012: 25-26). In such 'global hierarchies of value' (Herzfeld 2004), cosmopolitanism is associated with distinction, while the traditional (Brosius 2012), the local is side-lined (DeNicola and DeNicola 2012: 790). Nevertheless, the specific mental dispositions, skills and lifestyles that testify to a cosmopolitan mind-set (Vertovec and Cohen 2002) need to be learned (Delanty 2006) to be able to exhibit them. As already discussed above in Section 6.3.1, 'class is [often] negotiated and staged' (Brosius 2012: 27) in elite Indian schools with English as a medium of teaching (Uberoi 2006: 22; Carlson et al. 2016). In a recent work based on her research on such a secondary school in Hyderabad, Gilbertson (2016) called our attention to the connection of the cultural capital of the upper-middle class and the cosmopolitan skills and competences, with special regard to fluent English language knowledge, acquired through schooling in such institutions. She asserted, as a

> privilege of the elite and a source of class distinction, cosmopolitan practices and dispositions [,

> ‘to which the upper middle class and elite have privileged access’,] thus operate as a form of cultural capital,

and is pivotal in legitimizing reproduction of class inequality (p. 298). Cosmopolitan skills and competences are, in turn, demonstrated as lifestyles and consumption (Young et al. 2006; Fernandes 2009), which are other major domains where class is performed (Uberoi 2006: 22). These follow certain aesthetic benchmarks (Vertovec 1996), playing out in cosmopolitan ‘taste and judgement’ (Young et al. 2006: 1688) that are displayed in many areas of everyday life. Therefore, it appears, there are strong class inflections of Indian cosmopolitanism, which could form a separate research on its own.

Furthermore, it can be perceived that there are certain main distinctions that set this research group apart from other highly educated migrant women.
First, their social background of what I denoted the ‘comfortable’ middle class meant that their often above average financial capital allowed them to acquire outstanding cultural capital, both before and after migrating to the UK. Before coming to the UK, many gained excellent education in (mainly) Indian private schools. Also, while already in the UK some participants pursued self-financed postgraduate studies to become more competitive on the labour market. As much of the literature points out, transposing these forms of capital (e.g. Erel 2010) in the host country creates higher chances of a more successful integration (or at least labour market incorporation which after all impacts on integration).
Second, their very good English knowledge and some knowledge of British culture that they acquired before their arrival in the UK allowed them to ‘interact/communicate’, ‘understand’, and ‘learn’ the culture more efficiently once in the UK, these actions having been equated with integration by the interviewees. The chance to gain such knowledge could not only be attributed to social class but also to remnants of the British colonial structures in India (the idea that migrants from former colonies may integrate more easily into UK society is not new, see British immigration policies from as early as the 1950s). As research has extensively shown, highly educated migrant women who lack adequate language skills of the host society experience more initial difficulties in the destination country (increasingly manifested in the form of less successful labour market incorporation and deskilling) than those who speak the language well. Therefore, transferable cultural capital in the form of good qualifications, good English knowledge and some preliminary exposure to British culture could well influence the participants’ successful integration in the UK.
Third, the majority of the participants lived in cities either in India or elsewhere before migrating to the UK, and the cosmopolitan approaches and lifestyles which they acquired there may have been leveraged to their UK city life. This could also distinguish their

integration experiences from those of other, educated women migrants who did not come from larger urban areas (and for the importance of considering pre-migration city life contexts, see Cretu's (2017) already cited work).

7.3 Concluding Thoughts

In an era of unprecedented migratory flows towards and within Europe, integration not only remains a particularly hot topic but emerges with increased intensity at various levels of the social spectrum. Integration cannot be overlooked by central government policies, be they mainstreamed or targeted ones. Instead, policymakers are increasingly pressured to focus more on integration of both newcomers and those already resident in host countries (Migration Policy Institute 2016a). Although many European countries have introduced policy measures facilitating integration with mixed degrees of success, the effectiveness of integration measures will play out and may be assessed in the long term.

A considerable number of immigrants, both established and newly arrived, are women, and often highly educated. A recent study, based on the Labour Force Survey, suggests that women migrants are in a majority (52% in 2015) within the UK's migrant stock (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva 2017). Despite this fact, the UK government fails to give adequate attention to the ever-growing group of highly educated women migrants, as there is an assumption that female migrants are unskilled (Dumitru 2016). As highly educated migrant women of 'comfortable' middle-class standing may form a considerable stock within the UK migrant population, and as they actively contribute to UK society in various ways, there is a pressing need to acknowledge their presence. It is essential to be aware of their specific needs, approaches, and outcomes of life in the UK. To give more prominence to this specific group of migrants, my research focuses on highly educated Indian women migrants who have arrived in the UK over a longer period of time. Despite limitations in generalisability of the research due to the size of the research sample, their distinct integration narratives, experiences and practices can reveal patterns that might be applicable to the growing group of highly educated women migrants in the UK. Studying their understandings regarding integration does not only enhance our knowledge of the integration of this specific group of migrants, and thus enrich scholarship on integration. It could also assist more effective policy approaches to integration and may ultimately exert a positive influence on public perceptions regarding integration.

The findings of the research clearly testify to the need for the host society to develop and execute more effective integration policies and measures. The migrants interviewed construed the concept of 'two-way street' integration in a somewhat problematic way, by advancing their wish for more action on integration by the host society, whilst accepting its perceived insufficiency. Self-responsibility played a key role in shaping the interviewees' way of thinking in their position as migrants in the adoptive society, which fact could (but not necessarily) be attributed to their favourable class position. However, the expected, or at least welcomed self-responsibility of migrants cannot make up for the inadequacy of constructive integration policies and measures. The need to design, implement and maintain effective, hands-on, strategic integration policies that have farsighted effects for both host society and migrants becomes ever more pressing, especially in an era of increased population movements, where 'superdiversity and hypermobility become the water in which we all swim' (Papademetriou and Benton 2016: 2).

Acknowledging the formative role of certain pre-migration factors, circumstances and practices that structure understandings of integration and enhance integration processes in the host society is also crucial, as highlighted by this work. Building on knowledge, skills, (cosmopolitan) dispositions, and class position that have been encountered or acquired prior to migrating to the UK can render integration processes admittedly smoother and thus probably shape comprehensions of integration. It is therefore essential to appreciate the decisive role of such factors on one's pre- and post-migration life. This may ultimately influence policymaking on integration at the various levels.

To conclude, to design better integration policies reaching macro-, meso- and micro levels, to promote clearer media narratives about migrant integration that could shape public trust, which in its turn is critical to render integration policies effective (Papademetriou 2016), and, finally, to create a social space where migrants feel more integrated, it is crucial to shed more light on the ways immigrants themselves perceive integration. This study aimed at mapping the integration apprehensions of highly educated Indian women migrants, of higher social standing. Despite the relatively modest number of interviewees, the findings of this research are still pertinent, as they call attention to aspects of integration of a politically hardly visible, yet significantly increasing, *non-problematic* group of migrants. This research, therefore, purports to contribute to the literature on integration by accentuating integration-related knowledge of this less mediatised but numerous migrant group, situated at the intersection of gender, class, and educational level. This thesis foregrounded understandings of integration from a grass-roots perspective, in the way it has been understood by migrants themselves, instead of relying on politically coloured approaches to

understandings of integration. I truly believe, the research findings have not only revealed the way a group of highly educated, 'comfortable' middle-class women migrants conceptualised integration, but may ultimately contribute to the better integration of highly educated women migrants in the host country. Lastly, I hope the issues raised and assumptions challenged may inspire other migration scholars, too, to continue their investigative journeys around these question marks.

Annex no. 1

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **What is your age?**
   - -30 years ☐
   - 31-40 years ☐
   - 41-50 years ☐
   - 51-60 years ☐
   - 61+ years ☐

2. **What is your educational background (degree)?**

   _____
   ___

3. **What is your current work?**

   _____
   ___

4. **For how long have you been living in the UK?**
   - -5 years ☐
   - 5-10 years ☐
   - 11-20 years ☐
   - 20+ years ☐

5. **How have you entered the UK?**

   As a:
   - Family migrant ☐
   - Student ☐
   - Labour migrant ☐
   - Asylum seeker ☐
   - Other ☐

6. **Which State of India are you from?**

_____

___

7. **Are you from a rural or urban area? (town)**

_____

___

8. **Your contact data (e-mail and/or phone number)**

_____

___

Annex no. 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – MAIN QUESTIONS

1. Background information (apart from those already asked in the Preliminary Questionnaire)
    - Before arriving to the UK, have you migrated within India?
    - How would you define your class position in India before migrating? How would you define your class position here in the UK now?

2. Integration
    - What does integration mean for you?
    - Do you feel integrated in the UK?
    - Do you feel integrated in the UK society as a whole or rather to something else?
    - Can you think of certain areas/groups/units in which you feel you are well-integrated (e.g. workplace, neighbour community)?
    - Can you think of areas/groups/units in which you would like to be more integrated? Are there are the barriers to your integration to these latter groups? If yes, what?
    - How well do you think your husband and children are integrated in the UK (also compared with you)?
    - Do you think it is important for migrants to be integrated in the UK? Why or why not?
    - Did you need to 'change' something for you to feel (more) integrated? In what way? (This question was added along the interviews, as many people recounted necessary changes)
    - Do you think that the fact that you came from a big city impacted on your integration? (This question was added along the interviews, as many people recounted this feeling)
    - Does the fact that you are a woman affect the way you think about integration? Of yes, in what way?
    - Is that true that the more time you spend in the UK, the more you feel integrated?
    - What does it mean to you: 'British'?
    - Do you feel British?

- Are you a British citizen? If yes, what does it mean for you to have the British citizenship? Has this feeling changed over time? Is having British citizenship related to the feeling of being integrated?

3. Use of skills/competences to feel more integrated
    - What skills/competences/knowledge could you identify that helped you to feel more integrated?
    - Have you learnt these
        - before migrating, or
        - after migrating?
    - Social skills
        - Please talk about your social network.
        - Have you relied on your social network to integrate in the UK? (Which network, built in India or in the UK)? In what way?
    - Educational qualifications
        - What degree(s) have you got?
        - Have you acquired them in India, in the UK or elsewhere? Talk about the type of education that you pursued (This last question added along the interviews)
    - Work
        - Could you use your non-UK qualifications to find a job in the UK?
        - If not, what was your response to this situation?
        - Have you had any Indian work experience? What kind of? Do you think previous work experience helped to feel more "part of the system"?
        - Have you ever worked as a volunteer? Why? In what type of organisation?

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